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ABSTRACT

This student text and teacher's guide feature current events and policy issues that are in discussion today. The books offer background on important domestic and foreign policy issues and present arguments from both sides of key issues. The books are divided into three sections. Section 1, "The Federal Government," contains: (1) "The Clinton Administration"; (2) "Congress"; and (3) "The Supreme Court." Section 2, "Domestic Policy Issues," includes: (1) "The Federal Budget"; (2) "Constitutional Rights"; (3) "Crime and Drugs"; (4) "The Economy"; (5) "Education"; (6) "Health Care and Aging"; (7) "Immigration"; (8) "The Media"; (9) "Poverty"; and (10) "Women and Minorities." Section 3, "Foreign Policy Issues," contains: (1) "Defense"; (2) "Democracy and Human Rights"; (3) "The Global Environment"; (4) "International Trade"; (5) "Weapons Proliferation"; (6) "World Poverty and Foreign Aid"; (7) "East Asia"; (8) "Europe and Russia"; (9) "Latin America"; and (10) "The Middle East." A 60-item list of books and articles that provide further information and perspectives on many of the topics covered is given. The teacher's guide contains lesson plans for each unit. Also included are unit test materials, unit test answers, student handouts, and student handouts for the basic edition. (LB)

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Current Issues

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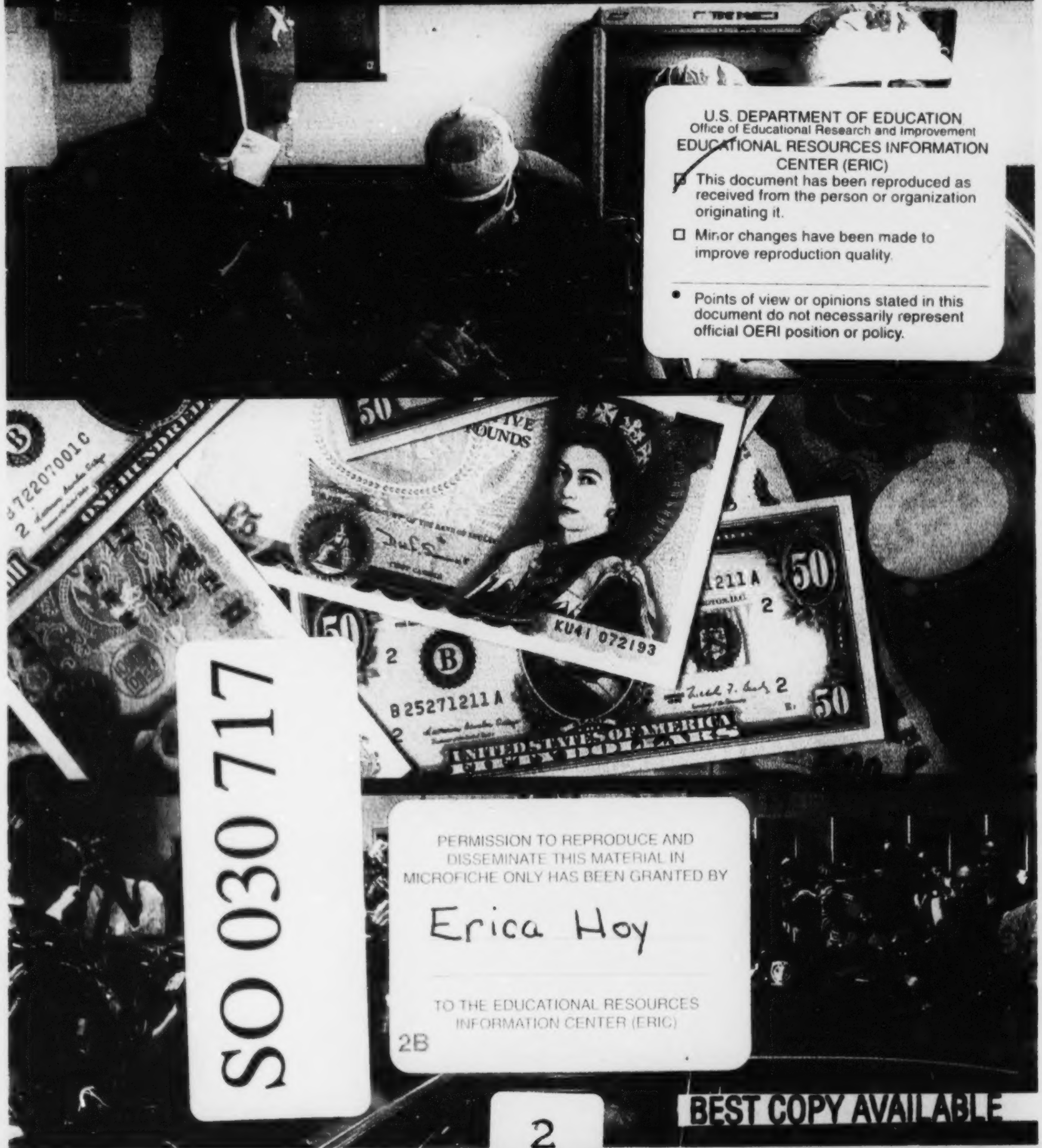
Critical Policy Choices Facing the Nation and the World



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PREFACE

This book is about policy issues—matters being discussed and debated by U.S. citizens and lawmakers. Today, Americans receive an unprecedented amount of information about national and international affairs. Much of this information is intended to convince people to believe a certain way. *Current Issues,* now in its twenty-second edition, takes a different approach. In twenty chapters about domestic policy and foreign policy issues, this book informs its readers about some of today's important concerns but leaves judgments up to the individual. Each chapter provides basic background information, identifies key questions, and details arguments from differing points of view.

The topics were chosen because they are part of public policy debate in the United States today. Americans are discussing these problems in their communities, in their state capitals, and in Washington, D.C. That dialogue is at the heart of *Current Issues.*

Nothing is more important to the democratic form of government in the United States than the informed participation of its citizens in the political process. *Current Issues* is designed to support greater civic participation by ensuring that when it comes time for this book's readers to participate in an election, state an opinion, or take a stand on an issue, they will do so from an informed perspective.

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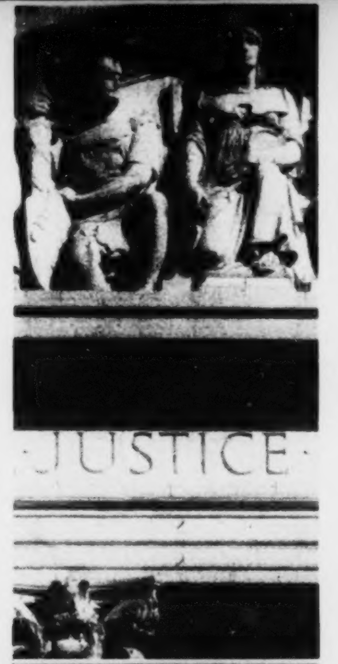

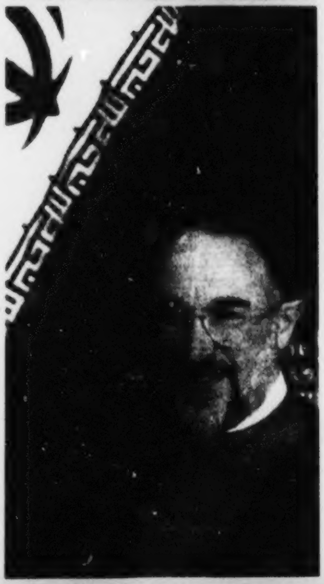

The Federal Government

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INTRODUCTION

Though the United States is a democracy, it is not a "pure democracy." In other words, its citizens are not directly involved in every policy decision. The nation is a republic—with elected representatives who deal with the day-to-day workings of government. Government officials constantly make decisions about important issues. Policymakers devise plans for addressing the nation's needs and for conducting relations with other countries. The process for dealing with such domestic and foreign issues is called public policy. Developing public policy is the government's way of meeting national goals, such as defending the country, protecting the environment, and improving access to health care. In the United States, the three branches of federal government—executive, legislative, and judicial—play different, but interrelated, roles in making and implementing public policy.

The executive branch, which includes the president, Cabinet departments, and federal agencies, has the constitutional duty to carry out the laws of the United States. But the executive branch also initiates policies, represented, for example, by the budget the president sends to Congress. After Congress has approved and funded the president's proposals, the administration (another name for the executive branch) executes them.

The legislative branch—Congress—is primarily charged with making public policy. The Constitution gives senators and representatives—the nation's lawmakers—the power to formulate defense, trade, and other policies, as well as the power to raise and allocate funds to implement such decisions. Congressional committees monitor the executive branch to make sure that the president, Cabinet departments, and federal agencies are carrying out policies as Congress intended.

The judicial branch, which is made up of the Supreme Court and lower federal courts, settles disputes involving citizens and federal, state, and local governments where a federal question is involved. Federal courts interpret the U.S. Constitution as well as the nation's laws and treaties. The Supreme Court can, in effect, change public policy decisions by ruling that certain laws, regulations, or practices are unconstitutional. Decisions of the Supreme Court usually stand as the law of the land unless the Court later overturns a previous decision or the Constitution is amended in a way that nullifies an earlier Court decision.

The federal government's priorities constantly change to reflect the needs of the country and the wishes of the electorate. Together, the Republican-controlled Congress and President Bill Clinton, a Democrat, will pass laws dealing with many domestic public policy issues. However, when the legislative and executive branches of government are controlled by opposing parties, finding a consensus is almost always a challenge. At the same time, it is a good example of the Constitution's time-honored system of checks and balances.

THE CLINTON ADMINISTRATION

Americans vote for president and vice president on the Tuesday following the first Monday in November of every leap year. Both are sworn into office (inaugurated) at 12:00 noon on the following January 20. President Bill Clinton and Vice President Al Gore began their first term in 1993 and their second term in 1997. A president can serve two terms in office.

President

The White House

William (Bill) Clinton, age 52, is the forty-second president. During his first term, President Clinton signed free-trade and welfare reform legislation, pushed for peace agreements in the Middle East, and sent U.S. peacekeeping troops to Haiti and Bosnia. Reelected in 1996, the president has since worked with Congress to balance the budget and improve education. President Clinton continues to face problems with Iraq and the effects of Asia's faltering economies on the United States. Investigations by an independent counsel into possible wrongdoing by the president have distracted the administration from its legislative agenda.

Vice President

The White House

Albert Gore, Jr., age 50, was a U.S. representative from Tennessee for eight years beginning in 1976 and served in the U.S. Senate from 1984 to 1993. One of President Clinton's most trusted and closest advisers, Vice President Gore often serves as spokesman for the president on national security matters and represents the administration overseas. Known for his interest in environmental issues, Gore attended the United Nations' global warming summit in Kyoto, Japan, in 1997 to state the U.S. position in this attempt to reduce greenhouse gases worldwide.

CABINET

There are currently fourteen Cabinet departments. President George Washington's first cabinet was made up of the secretaries of state, treasury, and war (now defense) and the attorney general. Cabinet members are listed here in chronological order of the creation of their departments. (Note: In April 1998, Secretary of Energy Federico Peña announced his resignation. As of June 1, President Clinton had not appointed a successor.)

Secretary of State

U.S. Mission to the United Nations

Madeleine K. Albright, age 60, was ambassador to the United Nations (UN) during President Clinton's first term. At the UN, Albright urged members to streamline the organization's bureaucracy and was instrumental in rallying opposition to a second term for Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali. In 1997, she became the first woman to be appointed secretary of state. As the nation's top diplomat, Secretary Albright travels the world, helping keep the Middle East peace process alive, negotiating with Chinese leaders over human rights, and seeking solutions to the ongoing dispute with Iraq.

Secretary of the Treasury

U.S. Department of Treasury

Robert E. Rubin, age 58, was named to head the Treasury Department in January 1995. Before becoming secretary, Rubin was the chairman of the National Economic Council. He worked for an investment company for many years before joining the Clinton administration. As secretary of the treasury, Rubin has worked closely with Congress to negotiate a balanced budget agreement. He is considered to be President Clinton's most influential economic adviser.

Secretary of Defense

U.S. Department of Defense

William S. Cohen, age 57, became secretary of defense in January 1997. Before taking over administration of the Pentagon, Cohen—a Republican—was a U.S. senator from Maine for eighteen years and served on the Senate Armed Services Committee. The defense secretary has been an important presidential adviser in the administration's attempt to convince Iraqi president Saddam Hussein to cooperate with United Nations' weapons inspectors and to find ways to restructure the U.S. armed forces in the post–Cold War era.

Attorney General

U.S. Department of Justice

Before being named to head the Department of Justice, Janet Reno, age 59, was the state attorney for Dade County, Florida, from 1978 to 1993. As chief prosecutor there, she won praise for reforming the juvenile justice system and establishing a special court for drug offenders. While Reno did appoint several independent counsels to investigate possible wrongdoing by members of the Clinton administration, she faced criticism for her refusal to appoint another independent counsel to look into White House fundraising during the 1996 presidential campaign.

Secretary of the Interior

U.S. Department of the Interior

Bruce Babbitt, age 59, was governor of Arizona for nine years. As secretary of the interior, he oversees 500 million acres of parks, wildlife refuges, forests, and recreation areas. Babbitt supports a "dominant public use" policy for the nation's public lands, which gives priority to recreation, wildlife, and watershed uses. In 1998, an independent counsel was appointed to investigate whether Babbitt lied to Congress when he testified about the administration's 1996 campaign fundraising.

Secretary of Agriculture

U.S. Department of Agriculture

Dan Glickman, age 53, became secretary of agriculture in April 1995. Before being named to the Clinton Cabinet, Glickman served nine terms in the U.S. House of Representatives. While representing his district in Kansas, he was an influential member of the House Agriculture and Intelligence Committees. In 1997, the secretary issued a broad recall of tons of beef that had possibly been contaminated by bacteria.

Secretary of Commerce

Consolidated News/Archive Photos

Before being named secretary of commerce in 1997, William F. Daley, age 50, was a top political adviser to his brother, Chicago mayor Richard Daley. In 1993, William Daley won praise for his work as chief lobbyist for President Clinton on winning congressional approval for the North American Free Trade Agreement. He also served as co-chairman of the host committee for the 1996 Democratic National Committee. One of Secretary Daley's biggest challenges will be to keep the Department of Commerce, which some members of Congress would like to eliminate, a vital agency.

Secretary of Labor

U.S. Department of Labor

Alexis Herman, age 51, was director of the White House Office of Public Liaison before being picked to succeed Robert Reich as secretary of labor in President Clinton's second term. At the Office of Public Liaison, Herman helped build public consensus for presidential priorities by arranging public policy briefings on domestic and foreign policy issues. From 1977 to 1981, Herman served as director of the Women's Bureau at the Department of Labor. She won praise for helping to end a 1997 strike by employees of United Parcel Service.

Secretary of Health and Human Services

U.S. Department of Health and Human Services

Donna E. Shalala, age 56, was chancellor of the University of Wisconsin at Madison from 1988 to 1993. She was also assistant secretary for housing and urban development from 1977 to 1980 and chair of the Children's Defense Fund in 1992. Secretary Shalala heads a huge department that oversees some highly visible and expensive programs, including Social Security and Medicare. One of Shalala's biggest tasks in 1997 and 1998 has been examining the effects of the 1996 welfare reform law on low-income families.

Secretary of Housing and Urban Development

U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development

Before being named to the Cabinet by President Clinton, Andrew M. Cuomo, age 40, served as assistant secretary for community planning and development at HUD from 1993 to 1996. In that post, he was in charge of a wide variety of community and economic development, affordable housing, and homeless programs. The son of former New York governor Mario Cuomo, the secretary also directed a New York City commission to study the homeless problem. During his tenure at HUD, he has been an outspoken advocate of anticrime and antipoverty programs.

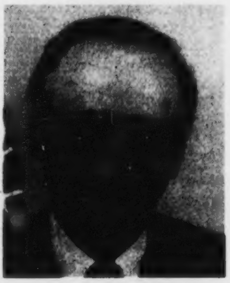
Secretary of Transportation

U.S. Department of Transportation

Rodney E. Slater, age 43, served as the administrator of the Federal Highway Administration before being appointed secretary of transportation. The FHA, which is part of the Department of Transportation, is responsible for ensuring the safety of the nation's highways and bridges. A longtime political ally of President Clinton's, Secretary Slater was previously chairman of the Arkansas State Highway Commission and a member of the presidential transition team.

Secretary of Education

Richard W. Riley, age 65, was the governor of South Carolina from 1979 to 1987. In 1984, Riley worked to improve his state's schools by adding a one-cent sales tax. The secretary has stated to Congress and the American people President Clinton's positions on such issues as college loans, school choice, and establishing national education standards and testing.


U.S. Department of Education

Secretary of Veterans Affairs

Togo D. West, Jr., age 56, became the secretary of veterans affairs in 1998, replacing Jesse Brown. Prior to becoming secretary of one of the largest Cabinet departments, West served four years as secretary of the army. As the civilian chief of the nation's largest military branch, West gained praise for confronting and investigating charges of sexual discrimination and harassment in the army.

Reuters/Mike Theiler/Archive Photos

KEY PRESIDENTIAL ADVISERS

Along with Cabinet secretaries, other important officials serve as key advisers to the president. Although technically not members of the Cabinet, presidents commonly give Cabinet status to some advisers, allowing them to attend Cabinet meetings. Several of the following advisers head large agencies or represent the United States in important international settings.

Ambassador to the United Nations

Bill Richardson, age 50, served in the U.S. House of Representatives from New Mexico for fourteen years and had risen to position of chief deputy minority whip when he was named Madeleine Albright's successor at the United Nations. While in the House, Richardson made a name for himself as a skilled diplomatic troubleshooter who successfully negotiated the release of American citizens held against their will in Iraq and

U.S. Mission to the United Nations

elsewhere. Ambassador Richardson has urged Congress to approve paying the nearly $1 billion the United States owes the UN in unpaid dues.

White House Chief of Staff

The White House

Erskine Bowles, age 53, previously served in the Clinton administration as head of the Small Business Administration in 1993, and then as White House deputy chief of staff in 1994. In 1995, he returned to his native North Carolina, where he had been a successful investment banker. In 1996, President Clinton picked Bowles to be his new chief of staff. One of Bowles' top priorities has been to convince Congress to fund the president's priority programs in budget talks.

Director of Central Intelligence

U.S. Central Intelligence Agency

George J. Tenet, age 45, was picked by President Clinton to be director of the Central Intelligence Agency after serving as deputy director since 1995. Previously, Tenet served on the National Security Council and before that worked for a decade on Capitol Hill as a Senate staffer. Tenet's top priority as director of the CIA will be to restore public confidence in an agency that has been rocked by spy scandals.

Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency

Environmental Protection Agency

Carol M. Browner, age 42, served as secretary of the Florida Department of Environmental Regulation from 1991 to 1993. As administrator of the EPA, she helped negotiate a plan to save wetlands by restricting development in those areas. Browner faces challenges from members of Congress who advocate decreasing the scope of all federal regulatory agencies, including the EPA.

Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation

Federal Bureau of Investigation

Louis Freeh, age 48, is only the fifth person to head the FBI in its seventy-year history. The FBI is part of the Department of Justice. Appointed by President Clinton in 1993, Freeh, a former FBI agent, gave up a judgeship on the U.S. District Court in New York to accept the ten-year term at the FBI. In 1997, Freeh clashed with Attorney General Janet Reno over her decision not to appoint a special counsel to look into campaign fundraising irregularities.

Director of the Office of Management and Budget

Reuters/Debbie Morello/Archive Photos

In April 1998, President Clinton named Jacob Lew, age 43, to replace Franklin Raines as director of the Office of Management and Budget. (As of June 1, 1998, the Senate had not voted on the nomination). Lew has served in the administration since 1993, first as special assistant to the president and then as deputy director of OMB. A native of New York City, Lew was a congressional aide and an attorney before joining the administration.

National Security Adviser

The White House

Samuel (Sandy) R. Berger, age 51, served as deputy national security adviser from 1993 to 1996 before replacing Anthony Lake in the top spot in 1997. In the late 1970s, Berger worked at the State Department during the Carter administration, where he wrote speeches for President Jimmy Carter and Secretary of State Edmund Muskie. Berger often publicly states the goals of the administration's military efforts in places like Bosnia and the Persian Gulf.

U.S. Trade Representative

Office of U.S. Trade Representative

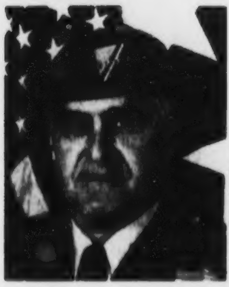
In 1997, Charlene Barshefsky, age 47, officially became U.S. trade representative after serving as acting representative for one year. Barshefsky was a lawyer in Washington, D.C., before being named deputy trade representative in 1993. A well-known trade expert, Barshefsky will work to decrease the U.S. trade deficit with Japan and China as well as expand existing trade agreements with Latin America.

Chair of the Council of Economic Advisers

Reuters/Gary Hershorn/Archive Photos

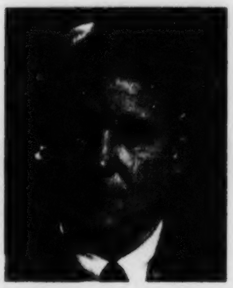
President Clinton named Janet Yellen to chair the Council of Economic Advisers in December 1996. Yellen, age 52, served as a member of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System and prior to that was a professor of international business and trade at the University of California–Berkeley. An economist, Yellen holds a doctoral degree from Yale.

Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff


Reuters/HO/Archive Photos

U.S. Army general Henry Hugh Shelton, age 56, was named by President Clinton to succeed General John Shalikashvili as chairman of the military's joint chiefs in 1998. In his new capacity, Shelton will serve as the president's senior military adviser. A decorated combat veteran in Vietnam and a commander in Operation Desert Storm, General Shelton commanded the U.S.-led multinational force sent to Haiti in 1994.

White House Press Secretary

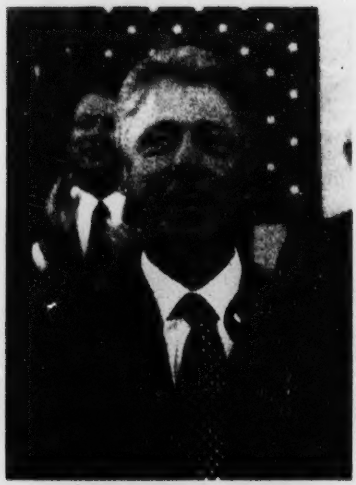

Archive Photos/Ron Sachs

Mike McCurry, age 43, became President Clinton's press secretary in 1994. As the chief spokesperson for the president, McCurry conducts daily briefings with the White House press corps and is often called upon to comment on breaking news stories concerning the administration. A graduate of Princeton and Georgetown, McCurry was once director of communications for the Democratic National Committee and chief spokesperson for the U.S. State Department.

CONGRESS

In 1994, the Republican Party won control of both houses of Congress for the first time in forty years. Two years later, the voters reelected President Bill Clinton, a Democrat, to a second term but again gave the Republicans the majority in the House of Representatives and Senate. When one political party controls the presidency and another controls Congress, gridlock and partisanship often win out over cooperation. In 1995 and 1996, Democrats and Republicans waged a public battle over the federal budget, causing the federal government to close down for several weeks.

On some issues, President Clinton and the Republicans in Congress have been able to work together and pass important legislation during the past three years, including welfare reform, a balanced budget agreement, and others. However, disagreements have prevented consensus on issues such as campaign finance reform, tax cuts, and education policy. In addition, 1998 is an election year. Every seat in the House of Representatives and thirty-four seats in the Senate will be contested in November. Many political observers believe that members of Congress are less likely to cooperate with the other party during campaign years. Others contend that they will be more likely to get more bills passed because they will want to show their constituents back home that they know how to get things done.



Reuters/Joe Marquette/Archive Photos

A joint session of Congress meets every January to hear the president's State of the Union address. In the speech, the president tells Congress and the American people what the administration's economic, social, and foreign policies will be in the upcoming year.

A Divided Government

In 1993 and 1994, President Clinton worked with the Democratic-controlled 103rd Congress to pass his legislative agenda. However, the majority of the American public believed that Congress had become an ineffective and unresponsive institution. Because Democrats had controlled Congress for so long, they took most of the blame and, in the 1994 elections, lost both houses to the Republicans. For the first time in forty years, the Republican Party held the majority.

The new Republican majority promised sweeping changes in the way the federal government worked. A balanced budget, tax cuts, welfare reform, congressional reform—these were just a few of the proposals Republican members promised to bring to a vote in 1995. However, many of the proposals were either rejected by or were not brought to a vote in the Senate. In addition, some bills passed by both houses were vetoed by President Clinton.

Close Up Foundation/Renée Bouchard

The U.S. Congress meets in the Capitol in Washington, D.C.

The stalemate between the president and Congress was in great part a result of divided government. A divided government occurs when one political party controls one branch of government while the other party controls the other branch. Although some are convinced that divided government promotes partisanship and gridlock, others believe that divided government is an important extension of the system of checks and balances inherent in American democracy. Having one party in the White House and another controlling Congress can help prevent one branch of government—or one political party—from becoming too powerful.

Legislative Scorecard. In the 1995 and 1996, the most controversial and divisive conflict between President Clinton and the 104th Congress was over the federal budget. Both sides produced budget proposals that they declared would balance the budget in seven years. President Clinton vetoed the Republican plan after it was approved by Congress because he said it cut too much from Medicare, education, and environmental protection. Republicans argued that the president's proposals were based on overly optimistic economic forecasts and would not work. The stalemate between the two branches prevented a budget from being passed and caused the federal government to shut down in late 1995 and early 1996. Though they disagreed on many issues, President Clinton and the 104th Congress were able to cooperate to pass several important bills, including health care, welfare, and immigration reforms.

In 1996, the Republican Party kept control of both houses of Congress and President Clinton was reelected. Many political analysts interpreted the election result as the American people's approval of divided government. In January 1997, the 105th Congress convened its first session. Congress and the president worked together in passing a balanced budget agreement, a line-item veto, and ratification of an international chemical weapons treaty. However, no votes were taken on bills to reform campaign finance laws and implement national standards for education; some members of Congress hope to revisit these issues before the fall elections.

TERMS OF CONGRESS

Each term of Congress lasts for two years and is numbered consecutively from the first term, which began on March 4, 1789. Congress holds two regular sessions—one each year. A session is supposed to last about five months, but pressing issues may require Congress to remain in session through most of the year.

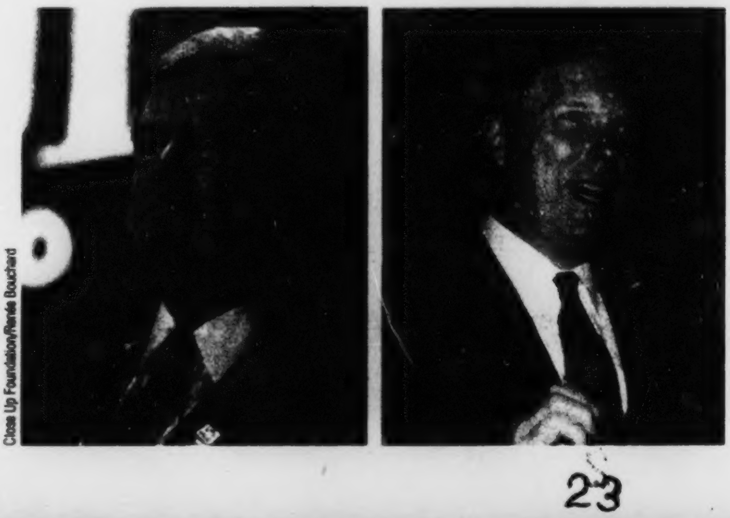
Reforming the Political Process

According to public opinion polls, most Americans have a negative view of Congress. They believe that it is generally a corrupt and ineffective institution. Recent ethics violations and other wrongdoing by members of Congress have contributed to voter cynicism. Many lawmakers say it is time for the legislative body to reform itself and win back the trust and respect of the American people. Two reforms at the top of many Americans' wish lists are term limits and campaign finance reform.

Term Limits. Article I of the U.S. Constitution sets the terms of office for members of Congress at two years for the House and six for the Senate. The Constitution does not set any limits on the number of terms that members of Congress may serve. However, many Americans favor enacting term limits for their representatives and senators in Washington. By 1996, legislatures in twenty-three states had passed term limit laws. However, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that states could not regulate the tenures of federal legislators, and that the only way to impose term limits on members of Congress was by amending the U.S. Constitution.

In 1995 and 1997, however, the House of Representatives failed to gather the two-thirds votes necessary to pass such an amendment. Some observers say that the passage of a term limit amendment is unlikely because members of Congress, many of whom serve multiple terms, would not choose to put themselves out of office.

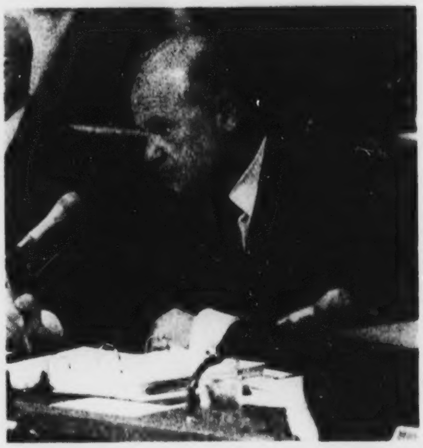
Supporters of term limits believe that Congress has become a body of career politicians, controlled by special interests, who have lost touch with the American people. They believe that Congress should be viewed as a temporary service, not a career that lasts for decades. Proponents also argue that newly elected representatives and senators would spend more time serving their constituents and less time fundraising for their next reelection campaigns if the number of terms they could serve were limited. In addition, term limits would ensure the arrival in Washington every few years of a fresh crop of



Close Up Foundation/Renée Bouchard

Representative Newt Gingrich (R-Ga.), left, is the speaker of the House of Representatives. Representative Richard Gephardt of Missouri is the Democratic leader. Their top responsibility is rallying support for their party's proposals in Congress.

THE THOMPSON HEARINGS



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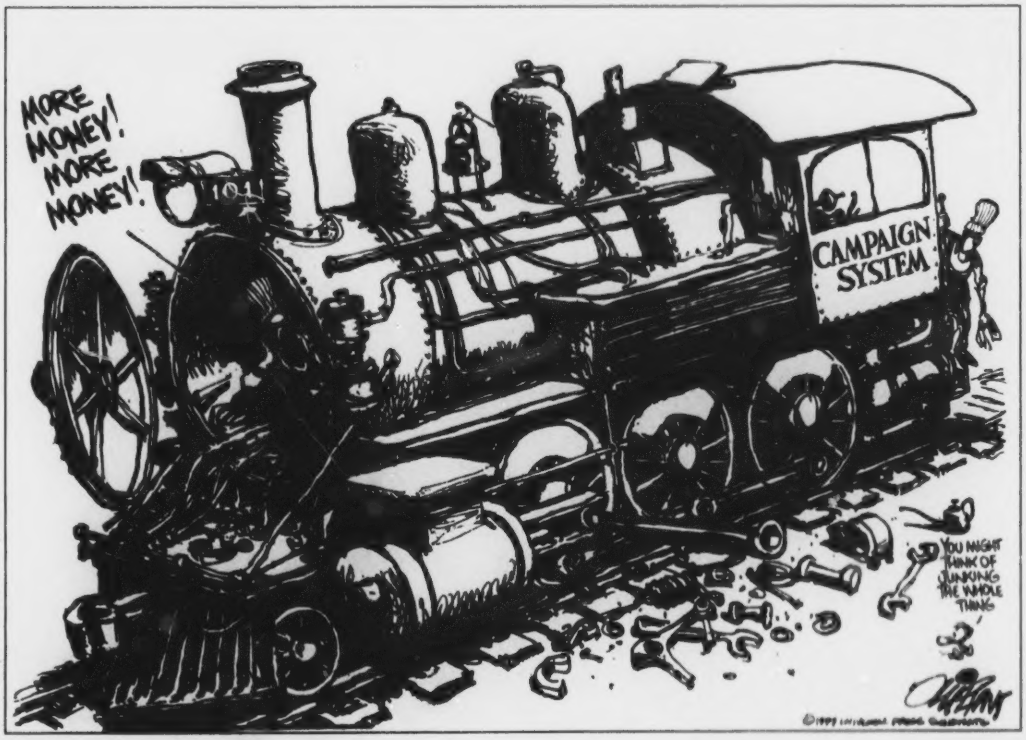
One of the most controversial activities of the 105th Congress was its investigation into campaign finance abuses. In July 1997, the Senate Government Affairs Committee, chaired by Republican senator Fred Thompson of Tennessee (pictured here), began hearings into whether the 1996 Clinton reelection campaign broke fundraising laws. Despite considerable publicity and high expectations, Senator Thompson suspended the hearings on November 1, stating that he did not have "the caliber of witnesses and information" to continue. Still, many observers credit the hearings with helping to expose the abuses of campaign fundraising by both political parties.

senators and representatives with innovative ideas and the courage to make tough decisions.

Critics of term limits say that the voters should decide the electoral fate of their representatives and senators, not rely on a constitutional amendment to do it for them. They argue that recent elections—most notably in 1994—proved that voters already have the ability to make dramatic changes to Congress. Opponents of term limits point out that more than half the members of the 105th Congress have been elected since the mid-1980s. In addition, many experts believe that imposing term limits will further reduce the effectiveness of the institution. "Learning the ropes" of Congress and the lawmaking process can take many years; members need time to acquire the knowledge and expertise to become effective legislators.

Campaign Finance Reform. Many experts believe that a more effective method of making congressional elections competitive and fair is by regulating how candidates for Congress and other federal offices raise and spend campaign funds. The cumulative effect of past and recent scandals has led many voters to believe that money has corrupted American politics and government. There is a perception among the public that when a lawmaker accepts a campaign contribution, he or she is in some way indebted to the political action committee (PAC) or individual who gave the money. Consequently, that donation may end up influencing that lawmaker's votes in Congress.

The High Cost of Campaigns. Spending on congressional campaigns has increased dramatically in the 1990s. In 1990, winning candidates for the U.S. Senate spent a combined $111 million on their campaigns; in 1996, they spent $122 million. More alarming, however, is the increased spending in campaigns for the House of Representatives. Winning candidates paid a total of more than $287 million in 1996, up from $17[illegible] million in 1990. Increased reliance on expensive television and radio advertising is a major cause of the spiraling costs of campaigns. Because running for


MORE MONEY! MORE MONEY!
101
CAMPAIGN SYSTEM
YOU MIGHT THINK OF JUNKING THE WHOLE THING
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OLIPHANT © 1997 Universal Press Syndicate office is so expensive, members of Congress must devote much of their time in office to fundraising, taking valuable time away from serving their constituents and writing legislation. In addition, many observers believe that challengers to incumbent officeholders are unable to mount serious campaigns because they do not have the fundraising capabilities of incumbents, who can use their influence to help special interest groups.

The Influence of Political Action Committees. PACs have been a source of controversy in Washington for many years. PACs are organizations through which special interest groups contribute money to political campaigns. Experts estimate that there are now more than 4,000 PACs representing various special interests. While supporters argue that PACs represent legitimate civic interests, others say the money these groups contribute buys them too much influence with the representatives and senators they help. Many Americans favor abolishing PACs and instituting new regulations for campaign fundraising. Others say such an act would be an infringement on citizens' rights to participate in and influence the way American democracy works.

"Soft" Money. Since 1907, corporations have been prohibited from contributing any money to federal campaigns (presidential or congressional). The law also limits an individual's contribution to no more than $1,000 to a candidate per election and no more than $20,000 to a political party per year.

However, candidates for federal office have been able to get around these restrictions with what is called "soft" money. Soft money is contributions given by individuals, corporations, and unions to "non-federal" accounts of national political parties. The national party committees transfer this money to state party accounts. State party organizations then spend this money on activities ranging from television advertising to voter registration. They say the money is used to promote the party, not the candidate, thereby avoiding contribution restrictions. Soft money has become a huge part of campaign fundraising—about $250 million in the 1996 elections. Many have called upon Congress to ban soft money, arguing that it makes a mockery of fundraising laws because it does in fact promote candidates for federal office, although indirectly.

Congress has debated some form of campaign finance reform in almost every legislative session for the last twenty years. The most recent prominent piece of legislation was the McCain-Feingold bill, named after Senators John McCain (R-Ariz.) and Russell Feingold (D-Wis.). Introduced in 1996, the bill proposed banning PACs and soft money. Instead candidates would abide by voluntary spending limits, with reduced media costs (free television and radio airtime, for example) as an incentive for compliance. Despite strong support from many members of Congress and President Clinton, not enough senators supported the McCain-Feingold bill to bring it to a vote.

Some political analysts believe that those lawmakers who blocked passage of campaign finance reform may be vulnerable in the fall elections. Others say that because of the strong economy, 1998 will be a good year for incumbents, making it less likely that voters will oppose the reelection of their representatives and senators.

THE SUPREME COURT

The framers of the Constitution wanted to create a strong central government. At the same time, they feared that individuals or groups might acquire too much power. Accordingly, the delegates divided the powers of government among three separate branches. The legislative branch makes laws, the executive branch enforces laws, and the judicial branch—with the Supreme Court of the United States as its ultimate authority—interprets laws and the Constitution.

Justices for Life

Supreme Court justices are appointed by the president with the "advice and consent" of the Senate. These justices serve on the Court for life, unless they resign or are removed through impeachment. The nine justices of the Supreme Court primarily serve as an appellate court; they review a limited number of appeals arising from the decisions made by the lower federal and state courts. Cases that are approved for review usually present unusual or significant legal issues. The Court hears cases that involve the Constitution, laws, or treaties of the United States.

Decisions of the nation's highest court have played a major role in shaping U.S. political and social life. During the 1950s and 1960s, the Supreme Court, led by Chief Justice Earl Warren, made sweeping changes in individual rights. The Warren Court struck down racial segregation and government-sponsored prayer in public schools and upheld the principle of "one person, one vote."

When Warren Burger became chief justice in 1969, the Supreme Court extended some decisions of the Warren Court. For instance, the Burger Court approved busing to achieve racial integration of public schools, upheld affirmative action, and ruled that women have the right to an abortion. However, under Chief Justice

Burger, the Supreme Court also limited some of the decisions made by the Court under Earl Warren. The Warren Court had established strict procedures for police to follow to ensure that the rights of suspected criminals were not violated. However, the Burger Court ruled that law enforcement authorities may commit minor, unintentional violations of some constitutional rights without penalty, thus preventing some criminals from going free.

Presidents and the Supreme Court

The Supreme Court underwent major changes during the Reagan and Bush administrations. During his eight years in office, President Ronald Reagan named three new associate justices and a chief justice. In 1981, President Reagan appointed Sandra Day O'Connor, the first woman to serve on the Supreme Court, as an associate justice. In 1986, Reagan named Associate Justice William Rehnquist to replace Chief Justice Warren Burger, who had retired, and chose Antonin Scalia as an associate justice. Reagan appointed Anthony Kennedy to the Court in 1987.

President George Bush also influenced the composition of the Supreme Court. In 1990, Bush appointed David Souter as an associate justice. The following year, he named the Court's second black justice, Clarence Thomas, to replace the retiring Thurgood Marshall, who had been the first African-American justice.

Shortly after taking office in 1993, President Bill Clinton appointed Ruth Bader Ginsburg, a former American Civil Liberties Union lawyer and judge in the U.S. Court of Appeals, to replace retiring justice Byron White. Justice Ginsburg is the Court's second female justice and the first Jewish justice since 1969. In 1994, Clinton selected federal appeals court judge Stephen Breyer to fill the seat of the retiring Harry Blackmun. Some expect that President Clinton will have an additional opportunity to name another justice to the Court

Close Up Foundation/Renée Bouchard

The Supreme Court building, styled after a classic Grecian temple, was completed in 1935 at a cost of $3 million. Before then, the Court had no home of its own. Since 1789, when the Court was organized, the justices had met in various rooms of the Capitol and had had little space.

Supreme Court Historical Society

Supreme Court justices, from left to right: Antonin Scalia, Ruth Bader Ginsburg, John Paul Stevens, David Souter, William Rehnquist, Clarence Thomas, Sandra Day O'Connor, Stephen Breyer, Anthony Kennedy

in his second term. These appointments can be one of the most lasting marks that a president leaves, because the decisions made by these men and women can have such an enduring and significant impact on the nation.

Supreme Court appointments are often controversial, however, because of the power that the Court wields. Liberals and conservatives generally have conflicting ideas about the philosophies they think a Supreme Court justice should hold. Conservatives, in general, prefer justices who favor strict interpretations of the Constitution, which they believe the framers intended. In contrast, liberals often want justices who will allow for broader interpretations of the Constitution to suit changing circumstances, as they think the framers had planned.

Recent Important Decisions

In the 1996/97 term, the Supreme Court issued several important rulings. The Court decided unanimously that a sitting U.S. president can be sued for actions unrelated to official duties. In another unanimous decision, the Court held that states have the right to prohibit doctor-assisted suicide. In a five to four vote, they decided that Congress cannot require local law enforcement officials to conduct background checks on potential handgun buyers. The Court also ruled that the 1993 Religious Freedom Restoration Act was unconstitutional. Congress had passed the bill to reverse the effects of an earlier Supreme Court decision that some lawmakers believed infringed on religious liberty. The Court also said that Congress cannot outlaw the transmission of sexually explicit materials to minors on the Internet if the law also suppresses the free speech rights of adults.

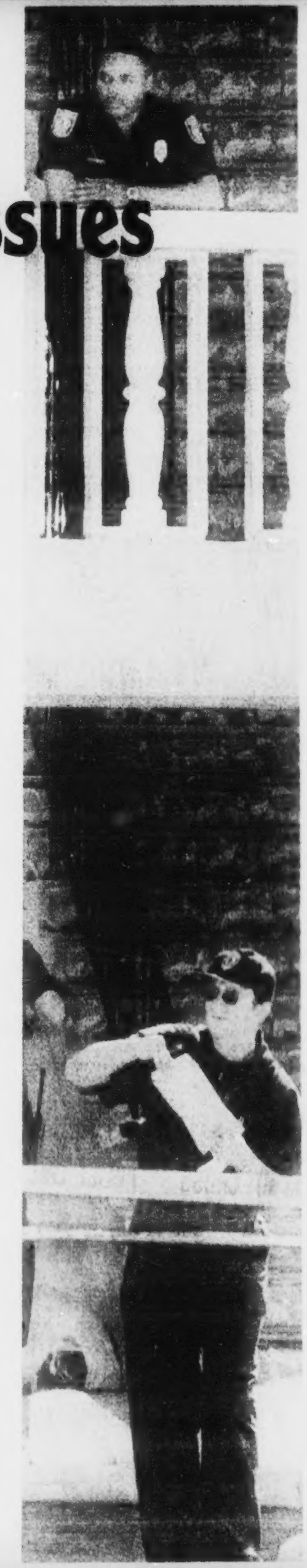
In the 1997/98 term, the Supreme Court determined that existing sexual harassment laws prohibit same-sex harassment. The court was also scheduled to decide on several additional important cases dealing with controversial constitutional issues, including

- whether a new law giving the president line-item veto authority is constitutional
- whether the First Amendment rights of artists funded by the National Endowment for the Arts are violated by the NEA's "standards of decency"
- whether a defendant's Sixth Amendment right to present a defense is violated because polygraph test results are not admissable in courts
- whether a doctor violates the Americans with Disabilities Act by refusing to treat a patient with HIV (human immunodeficiency virus)

COURT SIZE HAS VARIED

The number of Supreme Court justices is not fixed by the Constitution, and Court membership has varied from a low of five judges (1789) to a high of ten (1863–65). Its size was set at nine in 1869 and remains at that number today. In 1937, President Franklin Roosevelt, upset that the Court had ruled several of his New Deal programs unconstitutional, asked Congress to permit him to appoint additional Supreme Court members, but Congress refused to pass such legislation.

Domestic Policy Issues



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INTRODUCTION

American men and women are always concerned about domestic public policy issues. National matters such as education, unemployment, crime, health care, and poverty are called domestic issues because they affect Americans' homeland. Economic and social problems touch virtually every person living in the United States. Government—be it at the local, state, or federal level—has always played a major role in addressing domestic concerns.

Each year, lawmakers face difficult decisions about the level of government involvement in the lives of the people they represent. Of course, the Constitution sets limits. The First Amendment, for example, protects individuals from government interference by guaranteeing freedom of religion, speech, press, assembly, and petition. However, Americans disagree about how broad these protections are and how many limits the government should place on people's rights. Policymakers seek to balance the rights of citizens with the requirement to preserve public order.

For the first 150 years of the republic, the federal government was relatively uninvolved in the day-to-day activities of the American people. Decisions about everyday life were left to state and local governments and to the people directly. But the Great Depression of the 1930s led to a radically changed role for the federal government. President Franklin Roosevelt and Congress established programs to help needy Americans who faced hunger and poverty. Eventually the government in Washington took over many of the responsibilities formerly assumed by state and local governments.

Further changes occurred during the 1960s, when President Lyndon Johnson launched a national effort to eliminate poverty and discrimination. Federal programs were established to provide needy citizens with education, jobs, medical care, food, and housing. Congress passed civil rights laws prohibiting discrimination in education, housing, public accommodations, and voting. In the 1970s, lawmakers involved the federal government in energy and environmental issues.

Many Americans believe that only the federal government is capable of resolving major national issues. They think that only the president, Congress, and the Supreme Court can ensure that factories will not pollute the air, that employers will hire minorities, and that all citizens will receive fair and equal treatment in education, housing, and employment. Many people see government regulation of certain aspects of American life as a necessity.

Since the role of the federal government began expanding in the 1930s, however, many Americans have contended that Washington has become too bureaucratic and inefficient and too involved in their lives. They believe that the federal government uses its power to make decisions that should be made by states, communities, and individuals. In the 1990s, the public's discontent with the federal government deepened. Congress began passing legislation that gave state governments more power over programs that traditionally had been the domain of the federal government. The most notable example was the welfare system.

How can the United States stop the cycle of poverty? How can the nation's health care system be improved? Should restrictions on immigration be tightened? These and other domestic policy questions pose constant challenges for the president, members of Congress, governors, and all citizens from Maine to Hawaii.

THE FEDERAL BUDGET

In February 1998, President Bill Clinton sent to Congress the first balanced budget in almost thirty years. Only a few months later, the White House and the Congressional Budget Office surprised nearly everyone by projecting that by the end of fiscal year 1998 the budget deficit would be gone and that budget surpluses would actually be produced for some years to come. Of course, both of these events were unusual because for almost thirty years the federal government spent more money than it took in, creating annual budget deficits and adding to the national debt.

By the mid-1990s, many Americans and their elected officials had begun to realize that they could no longer ignore the debt problem. They feared that the deficit and the debt would eventually cripple the economy and reduce the standard of living for future generations. In 1997, President Clinton said that a balanced federal budget would be at the top of his agenda; he pledged to work with Republicans to eliminate the deficit. Congress also agreed that a balanced budget should be its number one priority. This talk of compromise contrasted vividly with the bitter budget disputes of 1995 and 1996 when the federal government was brought to a near standstill because the president and lawmakers could not agree on the necessary spending cuts to balance the budget.

KEY QUESTIONS

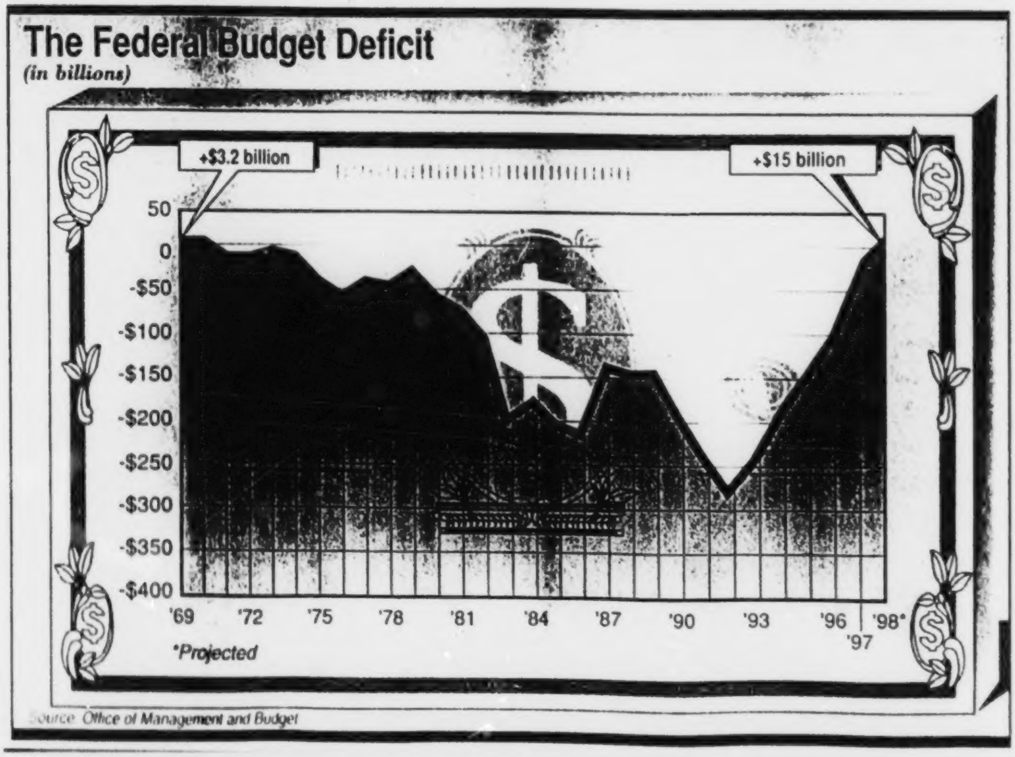
- Should Congress pass a balanced budget amendment?
- Is the line-item veto unconstitutional?
- Should Social Security be reformed?

Nevertheless, by June 1997 the two sides had managed to agree on a plan to balance the budget by 2002. But by that time, the deficit had already begun to drop far more quickly than expected. A thriving economy had produced smaller-than-expected deficits in fiscal years 1996 and 1997. However, the good news for 1998 and beyond will likely not make disputes disappear. Party disagreements over tax cuts, spending cuts, and increased spending will continue, but for now, looking for ways to cut the deficit are over.

BACKGROUND

Budget Deficits and the National Debt

A Government Beyond Its Means. The federal government ran up budget deficits—the amount by which spending exceeds revenue—for nearly thirty years. Some years, the deficit was as low as $10 billion (1974); others, it was as high as $290 billion (1992). Since 1969, the cost of government programs has steadily increased. In 1982, the government saw its first deficit of more than $100 billion. In 1983, the deficit jumped to more than $200 billion and remained near or above $200 billion until falling dramatically beginning in 1996. Fiscal year 1998 was the first year since Richard Nixon first took office that the federal government took in more than it spent.



The Federal Budget Deficit
(in billions)

Source: Office of Management and Budget

The federal budget deficit measures the difference between the amount of money the government takes in and the amount of money it spends each year. Fiscal year 1998 produced a surplus for the first time since 1969.

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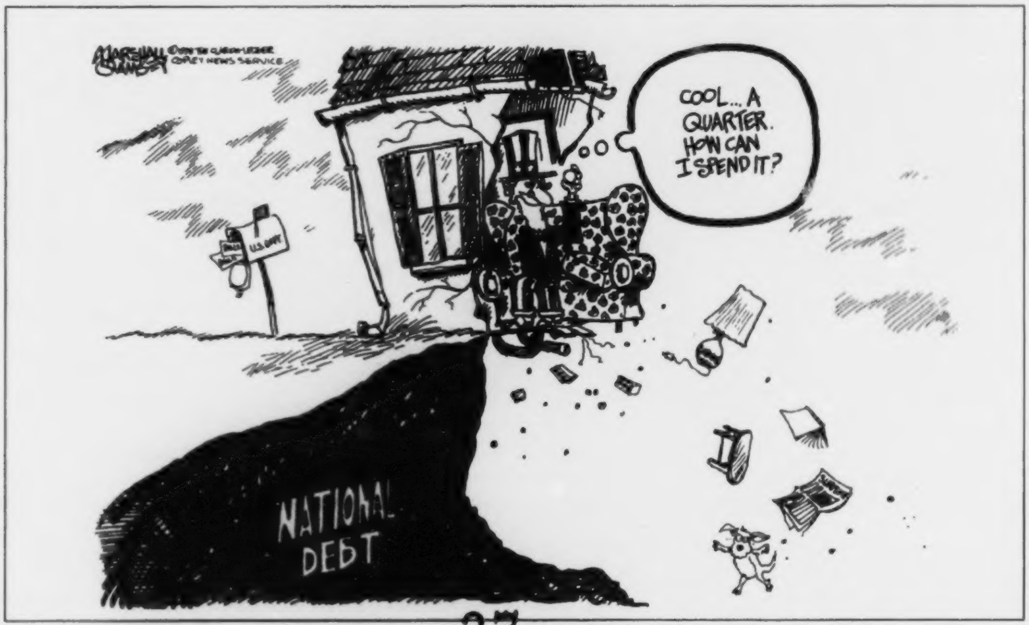
While experts gave some credit for this turnaround to the deficit reduction plans approved by Congress and the White House, most said the drop was more the result of a growing American economy that was producing more tax revenue than expected. However, these same experts warn that the balanced budget could be short-lived, as spending on entitlement programs such as Social Security and Medicare increases or the economy falters.

The National Debt. Every annual budget deficit contributes to the national debt. The national debt is the sum of all deficits that the U.S. government has accumulated over the years. So even though the budget is now balanced, the United States still has a huge national debt of about $5.5 trillion. Many members of Congress favor using budget surpluses to reduce the nation's red ink.

Mortgaging the Future. Although budget deficits and the national debt have been around for decades, it was not until 1992 that the American public began to pay much attention to the problem. In the 1980s, the U.S. economy was growing and unemployment and



Marshall Ramsey/Copley News Service

inflation were low. What few noticed was that the federal budget deficit and, consequently, the national debt were swelling. In 1980, the national debt was just less than $1 trillion; by the end of the decade, it had tripled. An increase in defense spending and the continued growth of social programs outpaced the expansion of the economy.

When the U.S. economy fell into recession in 1990 and remained sluggish over the next two years, the issue of the deficit moved to the center of public debate. In 1992, people began to become more aware of the effect that deficits and debt have on the economy and on the country.

Deficits can undermine the economy in a number of ways. To cover the government's debts, the U.S. Treasury must borrow money that businesses and corporations could otherwise use to invest in the economy, through research and development, job training, and so forth. In addition, when the government borrows, it is competing with other borrowers, such as individuals and businesses. As a result, interest rates go up, thereby making it more expensive for Americans to borrow for private investment.

Generational Responsibility. Economists point out that by dampening investment, deficits harm future generations the most. As the debt undermines the country's economy, Americans in the twenty-first century may not enjoy the same standard of living as previous generations. Thus, many argue that lawmakers must keep the deficit under control and contain the national debt to preserve the "American Dream" for their children and grandchildren.

AMERICA'S RED INK

As of April 1998, the national debt was more than $5.5 trillion. The estimated U.S. population was 269,165,708—making each citizen's share of the debt $20,467.75. Since January 1993, the national debt has increased at an average rate of $8,305 a second, or $1 billion every 33 hours and 27 minutes. Since 1993, the debt has increased about 6.3 percent each year. However, the greatest jump in the national debt occurred during the 1980s, when it increased an average of 23.6 percent per year.

Breaking Down the Federal Budget. The federal government spends about $1.73 trillion a year on hundreds of programs and dozens of agencies. The federal budget pays for space exploration, natural disaster emergency relief, highway construction, peacekeeping operations overseas, food stamps for

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The Federal Budget

In February 1998, President Clinton submitted a budget to Congress for fiscal year 1999 (FY99) totalling about $1.73 trillion. The budget also estimates spending for FY00. Deficit/surplus and revenue projections were revised after this budget was submitted.

(outlays in billions of dollars)

	FY98	**FY99**	**FY00**
National defense	$ 264	$ 266	$ 269
International affairs	14	14	15
General science, space, and technology	17	18	18
Energy	*	-1	*
Natural resources and environment	24	23	24
Agriculture	13	11	11
Commerce and housing credit	4	4	12
Transportation	42	42	43
Community and regional development	12	11	10
Education, training, employment, and social services	56	59	63
Health	132	144	150
Medicare	198	207	217
Income security	237	251	263
Social Security	381	398	413
Veterans' benefits and services	43	43	44
Administration of justice	22	26	26
General government	13	17	17
Net interest	243	242	236
Undistributed offsetting receipts (civilian retirement contributions and income earned from leasing or sale of government assets)	-46	-42	-46
Totals**			
Budget outlays**	$ 1,668	$ 1,733	$ 1,785
Revenues	$ 1,658	$ 1,743	$ 1,794
Deficit/Surplus	- $10	$10	$10

*$500 million or less

**Note: Discrepancies may occur due to rounding of budget figures.

Source: *Office of Management and Budget*

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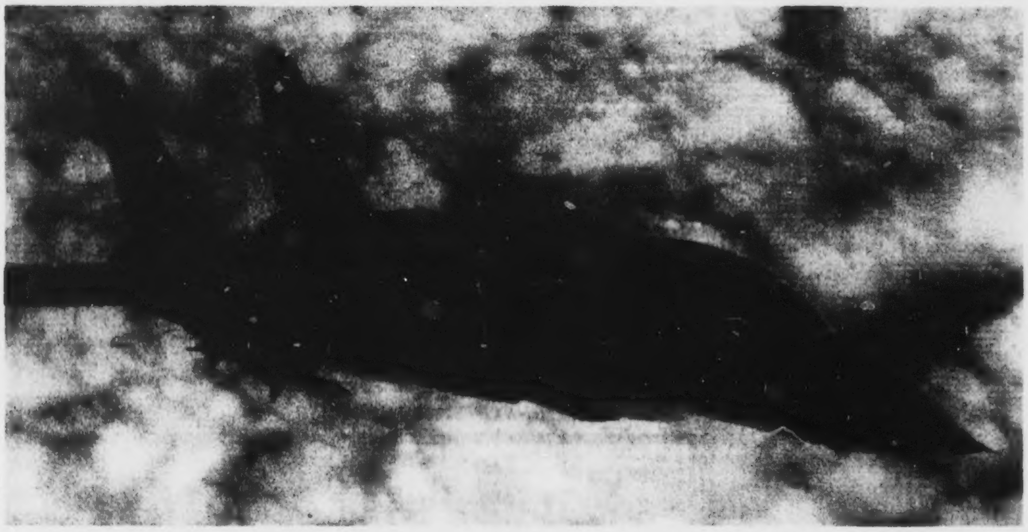


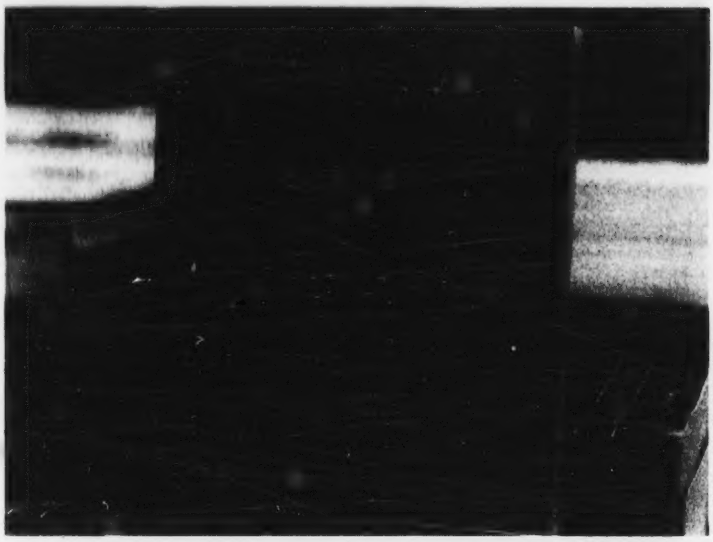
U.S. Navy

Budget experts continue to argue about whether the defense budget should be raised or reduced in the post–Cold War world. The Pentagon says it needs new high-tech weapons such as the jet fighter shown here to keep the nation strong.

low-income Americans, the maintenance of national parks, and many other programs.

Government spending is divided into four main categories: defense, nondefense discretionary, mandatory, and interest on the national debt. Defense spending consumes about $270 billion. Nondefense discretionary spending pays for all the programs in the budget whose funding is adjusted by the president and Congress every year.

Mandatory, or entitlement, spending covers programs including Social Security, Medicare, and Medicaid, which by law the government is obligated to fund. They are called entitlements because anyone who qualifies is entitled to receive benefits. Entitlements now use almost half of the federal budget. By 2040, more than one in four Americans will be over 65 years old and eligible for Social Security and Medicare benefits. This dramatic increase would mean that the number of people receiving benefits would greatly outnumber the Americans still paying into the system. If left unchanged, entitlement programs could consume more than 70 percent of the federal budget in the next fifty years.



The president of the United States is required by law to submit a budget to Congress every February.

Close Up Foundation/Renée Bouchard

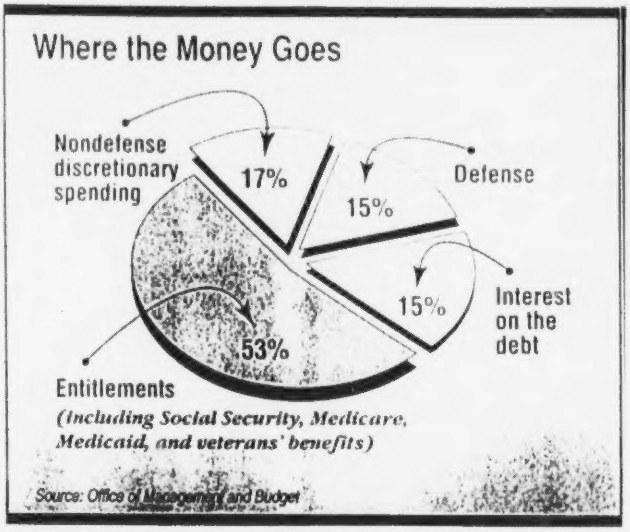
The fourth main category of the budget is annual interest on the debt, which currently stands at about $240 billion. This money buys nothing; it simply pays the interest on all the money the government has had to borrow in past years to pay off its deficits.

The Federal Budget Process

Each year the president and Congress prepare a budget for the federal government. They must decide how much money the government will spend on defense, health care, foreign aid, and hundreds of other federal programs. In addition, lawmakers must determine how much tax revenue the government can expect to receive and how much money it will need to borrow.

The President Prepares a Budget. In the executive branch, the Office of Management and Budget (OMB) is responsible for drawing up the president's budget for the upcoming fiscal year, which always begins on October 1 and ends on the next September 30. The president relies on the OMB to produce a budget that reflects the priorities of the administration, be they job training, tax relief, or a stronger defense.

After the OMB compiles budgetary requests from the various agencies in the executive branch, it goes to the president for approval. Finally, the president submits the administration's budget to Congress no later than the first Monday in February.



Source: Office of Management and Budget

The federal government will spend about $1.7 trillion in fiscal year 1998.

Congress Takes Over. The legislative branch plays a crucial role in the budget process. No federal agency or program can operate without receiving both approval and funding from Congress. Congress grants approval by passing an authorization bill, which states the goals of a program, the rules and regulations that Congress believes are necessary, and the amount of money that the appropriate agency can spend on that program. Then Congress must approve a separate appropriation bill, which actually gives the agency the money to run its programs. Congress is also responsible for raising money, or revenue, for the federal government. The lawmakers raise money by maintaining or increasing existing taxes and authorizing the U.S. Treasury to borrow money to make up for any difference in money collected and money spent.

For many years, subcommittees of the House and Senate Appropriations Committees considered the budget requests of each federal agency separately and appropriated money accordingly. But until all these separate appropriations were added, members of Congress were never sure of what the "bottom line" for the entire budget would be. Critics said Congress should determine the budget total before it started appropriating the money to agencies and departments. Thus, in 1974, a law was passed requiring the House and Senate to approve a joint budget resolution by April of each year. The resolution sets guidelines for how much the government can spend and predicts how much revenue it will take in. Later in

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the year, the legislators pass a second budget resolution, which reflects any recent changes in the economy and in expected revenue. If appropriations bills already passed by Congress exceed the new limits, Congress draws up a reconciliation bill to bring spending within the limits set by the second budget resolution.

The Battle over the Budget. In 1995, President Clinton and the Republicans and Democrats in Congress used the federal budget as a battlefield in the war between the two parties' visions for the future role of the federal government.

In February 1995, Republicans in Congress would not consider any further deficit spending and declared that the president's recently submitted budget proposal was unacceptable. They then proposed a budget resolution to balance the budget by 2002. The Republican proposal included reducing spending on Medicare and turning welfare into block grants for states.

Republican lawmakers, however, also wanted to cut taxes. In June 1995, President Clinton offered up his own balanced budget plan. However, the administration preferred to eliminate the deficit over the course of nine instead of seven years, giving the country more time to absorb painful spending cuts. His proposal contained fewer spending reductions in Medicare, Medicaid, education, and environmental protection, and scaled back the tax cuts favored by the Republicans. Unable to agree, President Clinton vetoed Congress's budget plan.

The Government Shuts Down. Without a budget in place by October 1, 1995—when the fiscal year officially began—the federal government shut down on November 14 for lack of money. Federal agencies sent 800,000 federal workers home. A temporary spending bill brought them back after a few days, but when funding ran out again, the government closed its doors for a second time on December 16. This standoff lasted for twenty-one days until President Clinton and the Republicans in Congress signed another temporary spending resolution. Public outcry persuaded both sides to avoid another shutdown as they resumed negotiations.

Finally, in April 1996, President Clinton and Congress agreed on a budget for fiscal year 1996.

Intense, and sometimes bitter, negotiations between the White House and congressional leaders continued throughout 1996 and into 1997. In May 1997, the two sides arrived at a consensus on how to balance the budget by 2002.

Much-lower-than-projected budget deficits in recent years indicate that the federal budget will be balanced by the end of fiscal year 1998. This surprising forecast has led to discussions in Washington about what to do with the predicted budget surpluses. Some leaders believe that any surplus should be given back to the people in the form of tax cuts. Others think the extra money would be better spent either paying off the national debt or increasing spending for programs that they believe are underfunded.

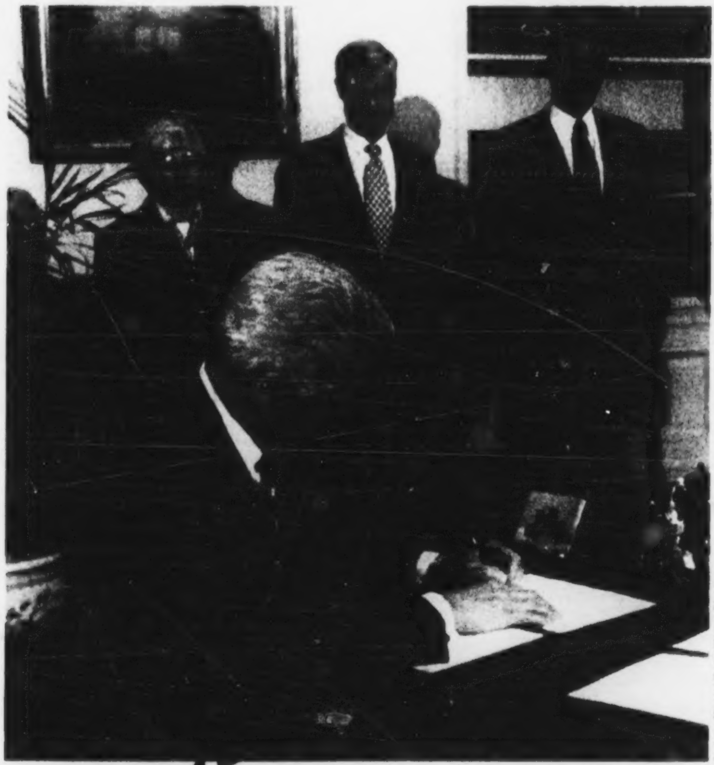
CURRENT ISSUES

A Balanced Budget Amendment. Many Americans and their representatives in Congress believe an amendment requiring Congress to pass a balanced budget every year should be added to the Constitution. In both 1995 and 1997, Congress voted on such an amendment. Although it was approved both times by the House of Representatives, the amendment fell a few votes short in the Senate.

Supporters of the balanced budget amendment argue that the president and Congress do not have the courage to make the tough spending cuts or add the tax increases that many believe are necessary to avoid a deficit. An amendment, experts contend, would legally obligate Congress to pass a balanced budget and would eliminate the deficits that drive up the country's long-term debt. Many experts believe that representatives and senators have been afraid to call for drastic spending cuts or tax increases to avoid deficits out of fear that they will lose reelection. A constitutional requirement, they say, would lessen reprisals against members of Congress for making unpopular spending and revenue decisions. They also point out that recent projected surpluses are probably temporary and will disappear when spending on Medicare and Social Security increases dramatically early next century.

Opponents contend that a balanced budget amendment is an overly strict measure that could handcuff the federal government when emergency deficit spending is needed, such as in a time of war, natural disaster, or recession. They also believe that such an amendment would inevitably lead to involvement of the Supreme Court in budget disputes. In addition, critics of the amendment point to predictions of a balanced budget and future budget surpluses as proof that Congress can balance the budget without amending the Constitution.

The Line-Item Veto. Bill Clinton and many presidents before him believed that one weapon they should have in fighting budget battles with Congress was the line-item veto. The line-item veto allows the president to cancel—or "veto"—portions of a larger spending bill within five days after signing the entire bill into law.



Here, President Bill Clinton signs the law giving him and future presidents the authority to veto certain line items in the budget. To his left are economic advisers Janet Yellen and Robert Rubin, and Vice President Al Gore.

Archive Photos/Rick Wilking/Reuters

But until 1997, the president did not have this power, and Congress was reluctant to grant it. In arguing their case, presidents pointed out that forty-three state governors have use of the line-item veto. Finally, in 1996, Congress passed the Line-Item Veto Act—an important part of the Republicans' "Contract with America." President Clinton signed the bill, and in January 1997 it became law.

Proponents of the line-item veto believed that the law would help balance the budget and give the president a powerful new weapon against pork-barrel spending measures that are commonly attached to multibillion-dollar spending bills.

Opponents said the line-item veto would give the president unprecedented authority to micromanage the appropriations process and would not be very effective in controlling spending. They also argued that the law would give the president unconstitutional power to "make" the laws of the nation—power granted only to Congress. Critics of the law contended that such a transfer of power could only be enacted by constitutional amendment. However, others maintained that the law is constitutional because presidents historically have had authority to approve all spending items appropriated by Congress.

In February 1998, a U.S. District Court judge ruled the line-item veto unconstitutional, saying that it violated the Constitution's requirement that the president sign or veto bills in their entirety. The U.S. Supreme Court will make the final decision on the line-item veto later in the year.

Reforming Social Security. Social Security—the largest federal program—has been called a "social contract" between generations. The money taken out of today's workers' paychecks pays for today's retirees' Social Security benefits. About forty years from now approximately a quarter of the U.S. population will be over the age of 65; retired Americans will then outnumber the American workers contributing a portion of their earnings into the system. Today,

Close Up Foundation/Renée Bouchard

Social Security has provided financial security to retired people in the United States for sixty years. However, many observers expect reduced Social Security benefits by early next century unless changes are made in the system.

revenues exceed outlays by about $65 billion per year, but experts say that by 2029 the surplus will disappear and revenues will only be able to pay about 75 percent of promised benefits.

Recent predictions that the system will run short of money when the "baby boomers" start to retire have prompted some members of Congress to offer changes to Social Security. One idea for reform is privatization; that is, allowing individuals to allocate some portion of the money they contribute to Social Security to private investment companies that would then invest the funds in the stock market or other financial ventures. Such a plan would greatly relieve the government of the financial and administrative burdens of providing retirement benefits. Proponents also contend that Americans should have the freedom to choose where and how their earnings are invested, because they, on balance, would do a better job of managing their money than the government has done.

Opponents of privatization say that the plan would put the retirement funds of Americans at risk by subjecting them to the fluctuations of the stock market. If the stock market were to fluctuate wildly or crash, millions of Americans could be left without any means of support in their retirement years. They argue that investing in the stock market is always risky and that the government would do a better job of keeping Americans' money safe while guaranteeing them a monthly check.

Some experts believe that the present Social Security system can be saved with certain adjustments. One idea is to allow the government to invest part of the Social Security trust fund (the surplus now generated) in high-yielding stocks rather than in low-yielding government bonds. Other analysts think the retirement age for full benefits should be raised from 65 to perhaps 67 or even 70. Right now, that age is set to rise gradually to 67 between 2003 and 2029. Another idea is to raise the cap on which American workers now pay the 6.2 percent payroll tax. Today's workers pay Social Security taxes on the first $68,400 they earn each year. Some experts think the cap should be removed entirely to force a greater payment from high-income workers.

Many Americans now believe that a combination of maintaining the current system along with forcing workers to set up a mandatory savings account would be a logical solution. The mandatory savings account would be maintained by taking money for the account from the worker's check in the form of a payroll tax. Experts believe this combination will allow future retirees to receive the full benefits they expect.

OUTLOOK

Years of debate over how to reduce the deficit have given way to discussions about how to spend expected budget surpluses. Should the American people get a tax cut? Should spending on social

SOCIAL SECURITY AS A SAFETY NET

A 1998 report by the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities found that Social Security reduces the proportion of older Americans living in poverty from about 50 percent to about 12 percent, lifting 12 million people out of poverty. The report also noted that without Social Security and other government benefits, one of every two older Americans would have fallen below the poverty line in 1996. With Social Security, fewer than one in ten elderly citizens lived in poverty.

programs increase? Or should Congress start to pay off the national debt? While many experts credit the booming economy of recent years for swallowing the deficit, they also applaud the nation's elected officials for making cuts in government spending. However, future problems such as the solvency of Social Security loom. For now, the federal government can take credit for eliminating the deficit, even though most experts believe that the good news is only temporary.

THE DEBATE: THE FEDERAL BUDGET

Congress should pass a balanced budget amendment.

PRO: A balanced budget amendment is necessary because the president and Congress do not have the political courage to make the difficult decisions needed to balance the budget. Unless the budget is balanced each year, future generations of Americans will inherit a huge national debt—one that will damage the economy. A constitutional amendment would force lawmakers to take the painful but necessary fiscal measures to pass a balanced budget every time.

CON: A constitutional amendment is not the way to keep the deficit in check. Such an amendment limits the power of the federal government to respond to events such as war, recession, and natural disasters when emergency spending is needed. Having a constitutional amendment would inevitably lead to involvement by the Supreme Court when budget disputes arise. Besides, recent years have proved that the budget can be balanced without amending the Constitution.

The line-item veto is unconstitutional.

PRO: By giving the president the line-item veto, Congress sacrificed some of its power to make the nation's laws—power the Constitution gives only to Congress. Such a transfer of power requires a constitutional amendment. Besides, the new law will allow the president to micromanage the appropriations process but will do little to reduce government spending.

CON: Historically, presidents have had the authority to determine if all items in an appropriation bill will be spent by the administration. The line-item veto will allow the president to eliminate wasteful pork-barrel spending by members of Congress and will help balance the budget. The president should have the same executive tool that governors of forty-three states have.

Social Security should be reformed.

PRO: American workers should be allowed to invest all or some of their earnings with private investment firms. The present Social Security system will not be able to provide full benefits to retirees thirty years from now even though it takes in billions of dollars. This money would earn more retirement benefits for workers if invested privately and would relieve the government of much of a financial burden it cannot, and should not, bear.

CON: Because the stock market could fluctuate or crash, privatizing all or part of Social Security is risky. As it is, the system will be solvent until 2029, and with adjustments in benefits, retirement age, and income, it will remain solvent long after that. The government has a responsibility to pay Social Security benefits to current retirees and would be unable to meet that promise if earnings were diverted to private investments.

CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS

The first ten amendments to the U.S. Constitution are known as the Bill of Rights. Added to the Constitution in 1791, these amendments were designed to protect individual freedoms and limit the power of the federal government. Included in the Bill of Rights are promises that give Americans the freedom to express themselves, that protect persons accused of crimes, and that limit the power of the national government. Although the Bill of Rights is the major source of constitutional rights, other sections of the Constitution also grant rights.

Many current controversial issues—such as the death penalty and abortion—stem from conflicts over how the Bill of Rights should be interpreted. Much of the wording in the Constitution and its amendments is general; therefore, many Americans disagree about how this language applies to certain situations.

Ultimately, it is the responsibility of the Supreme Court of the United States to translate the meaning of the Constitution. Some people believe that the Court should interpret the Constitution strictly by upholding the literal meanings of its authors. Yet others think that the job of the Supreme Court is to apply the spirit of the ideas expressed in the Constitution to modern-day situations. Sometimes the Court must decide cases in which both sides claim to be exercising their constitutional rights. The rulings of the Court determine whether government can enact laws to limit, regulate, or even forbid certain behavior.

KEY QUESTIONS

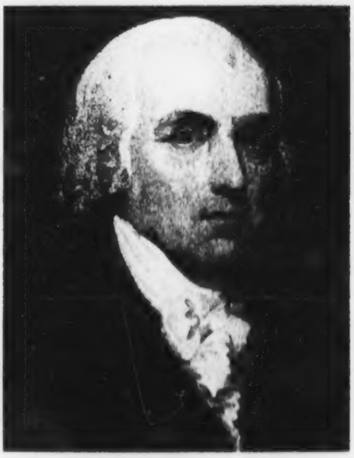
- Should abortion remain legal?
- Should religious exercise be granted greater protection?
- Should doctor-assisted suicide be allowed?

BACKGROUND

Guaranteeing Individual Rights

The Constitution of the United States, written in 1787, needed to be ratified (approved) by nine of the existing thirteen states to become law. Many states ratified the document only under the provision that Congress would soon add amendments listing individual rights. James Madison, a member of Congress from Virginia, wrote the proposals from which these amendments eventually emerged. In December 1791, ten amendments, known as the Bill of Rights, were ratified by the states and became part of the Constitution.

Although they are more than 200 years old, many of the ideas expressed in the Constitution and in the Bill of Rights are still relevant today. In particular, the following issues have been the center of many famous cases argued before the U.S. Supreme Court and continue to provoke public debate today.



Library of Congress

James Madison sponsored the first ten amendments to the Constitution. These amendments, which became known as the Bill of Rights, outlined many of the individual freedoms guaranteed to Americans.

Freedom of Religion. Part of the First Amendment reads: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." The courts have interpreted this to mean that government and religion should be separate. However, many Americans disagree about how to maintain this separation without interfering with a person's right to practice religion.

Some Americans are separationists and believe that to protect religious liberty, the line between religion and government should not be crossed. Others are accommodationists and believe that government should make allowances for the long religious tradition in American society.

The Supreme Court has heard many cases involving the freedom of religion, ruling on both sides of this issue. For example, in *Allegheny County v. Greater Pittsburgh ACLU* (1989), the Court ruled that a local government could display a Christmas tree and a Hanukkah menorah as part of a salute to liberty, because they were not endorsing either religion but rather representing cultural diversity. Opening state and federal legislative sessions with a prayer has also been upheld. However, the Court has outlawed some religious practices in public schools, such as official prayers at the beginning of the school day or at graduation ceremonies.

In recent years, some Americans have criticized recent Supreme Court rulings that they believe have failed to protect religious practices that conflict with general laws. Consequently, in 1993, Congress passed and President Bill Clinton signed the Religious Freedom Restoration Act (RFRA), a law that was designed to limit legislation at all levels of government that might place an unfair burden on free exercise of religion. In 1997, the Supreme Court struck down RFRA, but Congress and many states are considering new versions of the bill.

RELIGION IN THE FEDERAL WORKPLACE

In 1997, after the Supreme Court struck down the Religious Freedom Restoration Act, the Clinton administration issued new guidelines that support religious expression among federal employees. Except for military personnel, federal workers can wear religious garb, talk about their beliefs, and observe religious holidays as long as such practices do not diminish job efficiency or do not appear to be government endorsement of a particular faith. While some groups fear that the directive could invite efforts to convert employees on the job, others praise it for promoting understanding among faiths.

Freedom of Expression. The First Amendment also forbids Congress from making laws that prevent Americans from speaking or writing what they wish. However, the courts have ruled that these rights of free expression are not unlimited. For example, the First Amendment does not allow speech or writing that makes false statements about another's character, specifically plans the violent overthrow of the government, or incites riot. However, the amendment does allow citizens to hold peaceful meetings and public protests asking the government to correct a wrong.

The Supreme Court is sometimes asked to decide whether unpopular speech should be protected in the same manner as popular speech. For example, in *Texas v. Johnson* (1989), the justices ruled that burning the American flag was protected by the First Amendment. In *R.A.V. v. St. Paul* (1992), the Court overturned a St. Paul, Minnesota, city ordinance that outlawed the display of racist symbols such as a Nazi swastika. People who support rulings like these say that even offensive speech should be protected so that the government cannot censor unpopular views. Some Americans disagree with these rulings, saying that it should be constitutional to outlaw certain types of inflammatory or hurtful speech.

Free Speech on the Internet. The dramatic growth of the Internet, a system that connects more than 10 million computers worldwide, has provoked new debates about the right to free speech. Because it enables nearly instantaneous access to information and reference material, the Internet has been heralded for its educational and communications potential. However, the system has also been used to distribute pornographic materials on-line, many of which can be accessed by underage computer users.

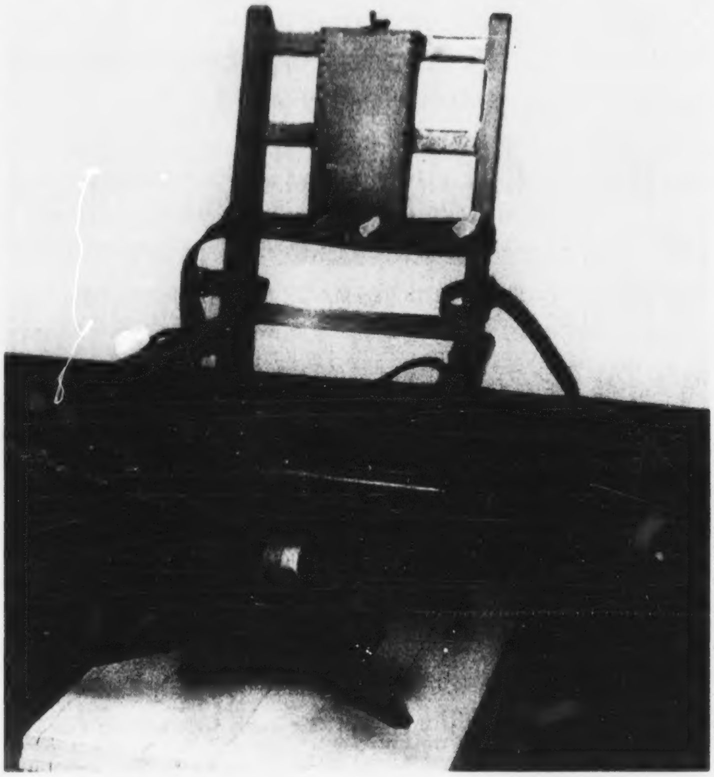
In 1996, President Clinton signed the Communications Decency Act (CDA), outlawing the transmission of sexually explicit materials to minors via the Internet. The following year, the Supreme Court declared the law unconstitutional. While most justices agreed in principle with protecting children from harmful material, they stated that the CDA was unnecessarily broad and could suppress the free speech rights of adults.

The Right to Bear Arms. The Second Amendment protects "the right of the people to keep and bear arms." After the American Revolution, the first Congress wanted to ensure that people could form armed militias, such as the National Guard, if needed. One issue sparked by the wording of this amendment is whether it gives individuals the right to own any gun for any reason. Currently, federal laws do prohibit private ownership of certain types of firearms, but Americans own more than 200 million rifles, shotguns, and handguns. Individuals who collect guns or use them for sport often cite this "right to bear arms" when criticizing gun laws. Lawmakers who support restrictions on gun ownership say gun control laws are needed to stop gun violence in the United States, and the right to bear arms is limited to state militias, not private individuals.

Amendments Protecting Suspected Criminals. The Bill of Rights guarantees that the government will treat fairly any persons accused of crimes. The following amendments address the rights of suspected criminals.

- The Fourth Amendment protects persons from "unreasonable searches and seizures."
- The Fifth Amendment protects suspects from being forced to testify against themselves; protects defendants from double jeopardy (being retried for crimes for which they were found not guilty); and prevents the government from taking a person's life, property, or freedom except in ways specified by law.
- The Sixth Amendment guarantees the right to a "speedy and public trial" with a jury, the right to an attorney, and the rights to confront adverse witnesses and obtain favorable ones.

Supporters of the death penalty argue that it deters crime and is fair punishment in some murder cases. Opponents believe that the death penalty is "cruel and unusual punishment" and therefore unconstitutional. Today there are increasing calls to ban the electric chair—now used in only six states—as an inhumane method of execution.



Virginia Department of Corrections, David Botkins, Public Affairs

- The Eighth Amendment forbids "excessive bail" and "cruel and unusual punishment."

Unenumerated Rights. The Ninth Amendment prevents the government from denying rights not specifically mentioned in the Constitution. Acknowledging that no listing of rights can be truly complete, this amendment states that rights not listed are "retained by the people." For example, the Supreme Court has recognized the right to privacy, the right to vote, and the right to travel, even though they are not specifically mentioned in the Constitution. However, the Court has usually based such unenumerated rights on the Fourteenth Amendment, not the Ninth Amendment.

Federalism. In a federalist system, power is shared by both the national and state governments. The Tenth Amendment states that powers not given to the federal government, nor prohibited to the states by the Constitution, are reserved for the states or to the people. This amendment is often cited when making cases for stronger states' rights and decreasing the power of the federal government. A recent example is the Handgun Control Act (also known as the Brady gun control law).

The Brady Gun Control Law. Enacted in 1994, the Handgun Control Act required states to impose a five-day waiting period before a customer could take a handgun away from the store. During this waiting period, state police would perform background checks on buyers to keep guns out of the hands of criminals. If the buyer's background included a felony conviction, for example, he or she would be prohibited from purchasing a handgun.

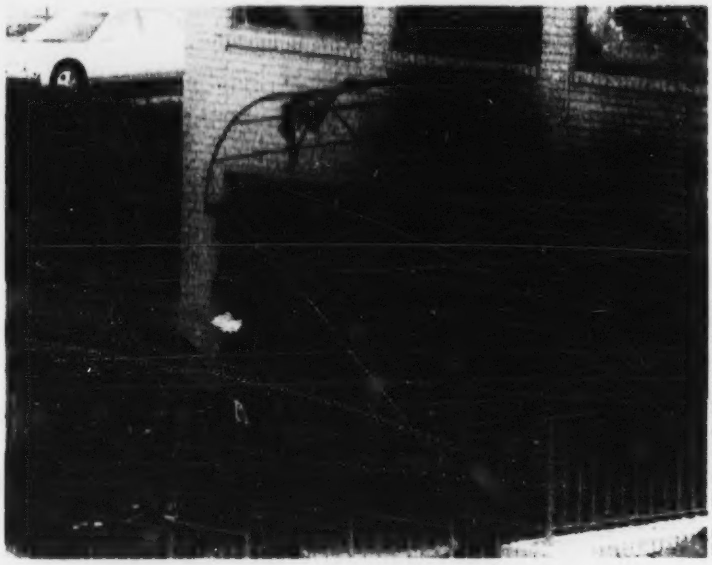
In December 1996, however, local law enforcement officials from Montana and Arizona challenged the law before the Supreme Court, arguing that the federal government was overstepping its bounds by requiring them to perform and pay for the background check system. In 1997, the Court ruled in favor of the states and struck down this requirement, but left other provisions of the Brady law intact.

The Fourteenth Amendment. Although the Fourteenth Amendment is not part of the Bill of Rights, it is often used to protect the rights of individuals. One part of this amendment has been interpreted to mean that state and local governments are required to protect most of the guarantees listed in the first ten amendments. Originally, the Bill of Rights only applied to the federal government, but the Fourteenth Amendment, which was added to the Constitution after the Civil War, extends most protections to the actions of state and local governments as well.

Another part of the Fourteenth Amendment prohibits racial and sexual discrimination. The amendment has also been interpreted by the Supreme Court to protect a person's right to refuse medical treatments and a woman's right to have an abortion.

CURRENT ISSUES

Abortion. Abortion has been and still is one of the nation's most controversial issues. In its 1973 landmark decision in *Roe v. Wade,* the Supreme Court ruled that a woman has a constitutional right to an abortion. The Court based its ruling on two findings. First, the justices found that a woman's right to privacy allows



The January 1998 bombing of an abortion clinic in Birmingham, Alabama, (shown here) killed a guard and seriously injured a nurse. The guard was the sixth person to die in violence at abortion clinics since 1993.

AP Photo/Birmingham Post Herald, Larry Kasperek her to end a pregnancy. Although the word "privacy" does not appear in the Constitution, the Supreme Court had ruled in an earlier case that such a right does exist. Second, the Court said that a fetus is not a person and thus is not protected under the Fourteenth Amendment's guarantee that "no person" can be deprived of life without a fair trial. In effect, the *Roe v. Wade* decision struck down state laws forbidding abortion during the first three months—or trimester—of pregnancy. The decision did allow states to regulate abortion during the second trimester and prohibit abortion during the last three months, when the fetus could be capable of living outside the womb.

THE *MIRANDA* RULINGS

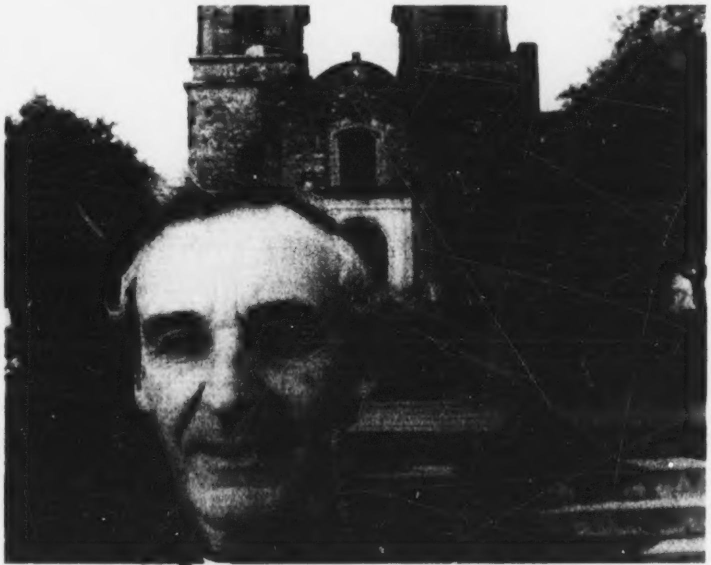
To protect criminal suspects from police coercion, the Supreme Court ruled that suspects in police custody must be informed of their legal rights before being questioned. In *Miranda v. Arizona* (1966), the Court established guidelines to require that a suspect be informed of the right to remain silent and the right to an attorney. If police do not inform defendants of their rights, evidence gained from this questioning cannot be used in court.

The Court's decision gave rise to an antiabortion movement that called for states to find ways to restrict abortion and for the Supreme Court to reverse *Roe v. Wade.* In the 1989 case of *Webster v. Reproductive Health Services,* the Supreme Court gave states greater power to restrict abortions, causing both proponents and critics of legalized abortion to focus their efforts on state legislatures. In *Planned Parenthood of Southeastern Pennsylvania v. Casey* (1992), the Supreme Court created new criteria for determining the legality of abortion, but stopped short of overturning the *Roe* ruling. The Court ruled that as long as they do not place an "undue burden" on a woman's right to an abortion, the states can regulate access to the procedure as they choose. The new concept of "undue burden" gave more power to the states to limit access to abortions.

Opponents of legalized abortion believe that human life begins at conception and that aborting a pregnancy is murder. They say that *Roe v. Wade* gives women the legal right to commit this crime. Foes of abortion also contend that it has led to sexual promiscuity in American society—especially among teenagers, some of whom may view abortion as an acceptable means of birth control. Some opponents of legalized abortion also say that the procedure is harmful to women's health. They cite studies that show high rates of hemorrhage, infection, and complications in subsequent pregnancies for women who have had abortions.

Those who believe that abortion should remain legal say that in a free society the government should not take away a woman's right to choose to terminate a pregnancy. They argue that abortion is a personal choice, not the business of government, and that a woman should have control over her own body. In addition, abortion rights activists argue that medical experts do not agree on when human life begins; therefore, abortion cannot be considered murder. They dispute the idea that large numbers of women view abortion as a means of birth control and instead describe it as a last resort for women in desperate situations. They also contend that legalized abortion protects women by allowing them to have qualified physicians perform the procedure—preventing them from using unsafe and unsanitary methods to terminate unwanted pregnancies.

Protecting Religious Exercise. U.S. citizens have the constitutional right to believe in and practice any religion they choose. However, in some cases, governmental laws or regulations can conflict with religious rites or lifestyle choices that are influenced



St. Peter the Apostle Catholic Church in Boerne, Texas, ministered by Reverend Anthony Cummins (shown here), tested the Religious Freedom and Restoration Act (RFRA). Ruling against the church, the Court overturned RFRA, causing many Americans concern about religious freedom in the United States.

AP Photo/Tommy Hultgren, File

by religion. Under what circumstances should the government protect the "free exercise" of religion?

The Supreme Court had developed a test for answering this question. The Court weighed the free exercise right of a sincerely religious person or group against the interest of the government. The government could win the case only if it could prove it had a "compelling interest" in restricting the religious practice at hand. Under this test, an Amish family in Wisconsin challenged compulsory school attendance after the eighth grade (*Wisconsin v. Yoder,* 1972). The Amish argued that further education threatened their practice of removing themselves from modern life. The Court ruled that the state's interest in universal education did not outweigh the free exercise rights of the Amish.

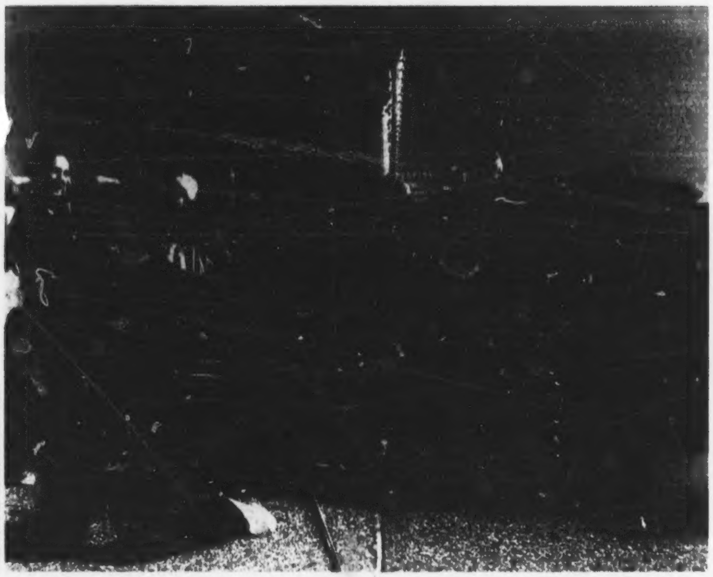
In *Employment Division v. Smith* (1990), the Supreme Court changed the test in free exercise cases. It upheld an Oregon law prohibiting the use of peyote, a hallucinogenic drug some American Indians use in religious ceremonies. In doing so, the Court stated that the "compelling interest" test did not have to be met for general criminal laws. Instead, the decision stated that the burden of proof for religious discrimination rests on the individual or church. In other words, plaintiffs no longer can claim that the law merely affects them; they now have to prove that the law was specifically crafted to discriminate against them.

In opposition to the *Smith* decision, several religious organizations united to support the passage of the Religious Freedom Restoration Act in 1993, a law designed to restore the previous, more stringent test requiring the government to prove a "compelling interest" in religious exercise cases. However, a 1997 Supreme Court ruling (*City of Boerne v. Flores*) overturned RFRA, stating that Congress had overstepped its bounds by requiring state and local governments to adhere to the law.

Nevertheless, many Americans demand greater protection for free exercise of religion. Supporters warn that without RFRA, similar legislation, or a new court decision overturning *Smith,* the right to challenge laws restricting religious practices, particularly those of religious minorities, will be largely curtailed. Advocates point out that several previous cases that resulted in decisions favoring religion, such as the Amish case, might not even get a chance to appear in court under current guidelines. Supporters of RFRA believe that government interests should not win out over the explicit constitutional guarantee of religious freedom, particularly when the issues at stake compromise a believer's conscience and possibly his or her salvation.

Opponents of RFRA believe that the Constitution and the courts already provide adequate protection for religious practices. Moreover, many critics agree with Justice Anthony Kennedy who, in authoring the majority decision striking down RFRA, stated that there is no evidence of "some widespread pattern of religious discrimination in this country" to warrant a law that gives additional protection for the free exercise of religion. Instead, opponents counter that the government should not tolerate religious practices deemed to threaten "peace and good order." Furthermore, they assert that under RFRA, frivolous cases flooded the courts, particularly from prison inmates demanding protection for unusual religious practices, such as sweat lodges for American Indians and drugs for members of the Church of Marijuana.

Assisted Suicide. In recent years, debates have ignited over the right of terminally and chronically ill patients to end their lives. In the case of *Cruzan v. Director, Missouri Department of Health* (1990), the Supreme Court determined that the right to refuse medical treatment was guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment. As long as there was "clear and convincing evidence" of a patient's wishes, life support systems could be turned off at the family's request. Recently, however, some terminally ill patients have sought a doctor's assistance to end their lives before they become severely incapacitated. Although polls show that most Americans favor legalizing doctor-assisted suicide, it has been outlawed in at least twenty-two states.



Reuters/Mike Theiler/Archive Photos

Some Americans believe that doctor-assisted suicide should be legalized to allow terminally ill patients to end their own lives in a dignified, pain-free manner. Opponents say suicide is wrong and legalizing it will only invite abuses. Shown here are activists protesting against doctor-assisted suicide.

In 1997, the Supreme Court heard two cases in which terminally ill patients challenged Washington and New York state laws prohibiting physician-assisted suicide. In both cases—*Washington v. Glucksberg* and *Vacco v. Quill*—the Court ruled nine to zero to uphold the state laws, finding that there is "no generalized right to commit suicide." However, the decisions suggested that states were free to experiment with doctor-assisted suicide if they chose to do so. One of those states is Oregon, where doctor-assisted suicide is now legal after a second voter referendum in 1997.

Proponents of assisted suicide say that it would allow terminally ill patients to die with dignity, without prolonging pain and suffering. Right-to-die supporters argue that patients are being kept alive long after their quality of life has irreversibly deteriorated. They say that permitting doctors to assist in patients' suicides, and establishing guidelines to regulate their efforts, would enable patients and their families to make informed decisions about what is best for them.

Opponents argue that doctor-assisted suicides allow too many opportunities for misuse of the procedure. For instance, they say, older patients and patients with little money might be pressured to choose to die once they become a financial burden on their families. Some people oppose the right to die because they believe that humans should not "play God" and try to decide when it is acceptable for someone to end his or her life. Some doctors oppose the idea because they say it is against their medical code of ethics to actively cause a patient's death.

OUTLOOK

Most citizens view the United States as the freest society in the world because its people have so many rights guaranteed to them by the Constitution and the Bill of Rights. The Supreme Court, through its rulings, defines and clarifies the meanings of these documents. Court rulings also determine how Americans can exercise their rights, whether or how much the government can regulate or limit those rights, and when the rights of one individual or group should be limited because they are infringing upon the rights of someone else. Americans also have the right to amend the Constitution if they disagree with a decision of the Supreme Court or if they think additional rights need to be extended to the people. This interplay between Supreme Court rulings and the will of the American people shapes the interpretation of the Constitution and its role in American democracy.

THE DEBATE: CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS

Abortion should remain legal.

PRO: A woman should have the right to choose to terminate her pregnancy and control her body without government interference. Abortion is not murder—no one has proved that life begins at conception. Most women do not view abortion as birth control; rather, they see it as a last resort in desperate situations. Legalized abortion protects women's health by allowing competent doctors to perform the procedure under safe conditions.

CON: Because human life begins at conception, having an abortion is committing murder. Too many men and women view abortion as a means of birth control, an attitude that has led to increased sexual promiscuity. Abortions can also cause health problems and have often complicated future pregnancies. The government must protect the rights of unborn children who cannot protect themselves.

Religious exercise should be granted greater protection.

PRO: In 1990, the Supreme Court reduced government protection for the practice of religion. A new law or a new court decision is needed to make government accountable once again for laws that directly or indirectly limit the free exercise of religion. This right is explicitly guaranteed by the First Amendment, and minority religions should be protected.

CON: There is no evidence of widespread religious discrimination across the United States. Consequently, there is no need to craft new laws or new constitutional amendments protecting religious freedom. The government's interest in maintaining social order and peace outweighs the sometimes frivolous claims for religious practices made by minority faiths.

Doctor-assisted suicide should be allowed.

PRO: The right to die is a human and a constitutional right. Today's medical technology can keep people alive in a vegetative or severely impaired state for indefinite periods of time. Doctor-assisted suicides spare terminally and chronically ill patients prolonged pain and suffering. Patients should be able to die with dignity, and they should be able to do so with the legal assistance of a qualified doctor.

CON: It is unethical for doctors, or anyone else, to end the life of another human being under any circumstances. Assisted suicide could lead to killing unwanted older, sick, or disabled people. Uninsured patients will be pressured to choose death to avoid being a financial burden. In addition, patients are sometimes misdiagnosed with terminal illnesses, which could cause their families to make incorrect decisions.

CRIME AND DRUGS

Crime touches the lives of most Americans, regardless of age, race, gender, or income. Even if someone has never been a victim of crime, fear of crime often affects how that person lives.

In the early 1990s, "crimes against the person"—murders, assaults, and robberies—increased in the United States. Over the past few years, however, the violent crime rate has dropped. In October 1997, the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) reported that the violent crime rate hit its lowest level since 1987. Law enforcement officials credit this decline to a number of factors: better neighborhood policing, stricter jail sentences, and tighter gun control laws. However, despite these encouraging statistics, about 1.7 million violent crimes are still committed every year in the United States.

KEY QUESTIONS

- Do gun control laws reduce violent crime?
- Should drug convictions carry mandatory jail sentences?
- Should juveniles ever be tried as adults?

Fighting crime is an enormous task because many economic and societal factors contribute to lawlessness, including poverty, splintered families, drugs, unemployment, and availability of firearms. Consequently, policymakers disagree on where to focus their anticrime policies: law enforcement or crime prevention. Many Americans believe that stricter punishment and stronger law enforcement will reduce crime; others say that it is most important to attack the underlying social problems that often lead to crime.

BACKGROUND

Crime in America

Violence in America. Crime affects a large segment of the population, as an estimated 13.5 million crimes are committed annually in the United States. Almost 90 percent of these are crimes against property, such as burglary or car theft; the rest are violent crimes such as murder and assault. Every year, about 1.7 million violent crimes occur. According to polls, many Americans are afraid to walk in their neighborhoods after dark.

Although violent crime continues to be a top concern of many citizens, government statistics indicate that recent anticrime efforts are having positive results. In the first six months of 1997, for example, the number of violent crimes (murder, rape, robbery, and aggravated assault) dropped 5 percent

AP Photo/Miami Herald/Candace Barbot

Although the violent crime rate went down in 1996 and 1997, many Americans' fear of crime in their neighborhoods has not subsided.

below the previous year. Murders fell 9 percent. Law enforcement officials attribute this decline to a combination of factors, including tougher sentencing laws, more effective community policing, gun control laws, and declining unemployment.

MEGAN'S LAW

Forty-three states have laws allowing the police to tell the public whether a convicted sex offender lives in their community. This type of law has been dubbed "Megan's law," after a young girl who was raped and killed in New Jersey by a known sex offender who lived in her neighborhood. Some states have authorized the police to actively notify the public, and other states simply allow residents to look at lists of where sex offenders live. Experts, however, note that most sexual assaults are usually committed by a friend or family member, not a stranger.

Juvenile Crime. Although the overall violent crime rate has been going down, the number of violent crimes committed by juveniles rose throughout the early 1990s. Experts attribute the rise to many factors, such as a breakdown of families and communities, as well as the influence of gangs, weapons, and drugs. Some think that juvenile crime is a growing threat because the youth population is projected to increase by more than 30 percent to 74 million by 2010. Others note that over the past two years, the violent juvenile crime rate has started to fall.

What Causes Crime? Some experts say the roots of crime are unemployment, poverty, and drug abuse. Others contend that the judicial system is failing to rehabilitate violent criminals or keep them off the streets. Because Americans are so divided over the causes, confronting the problem effectively is difficult.

Poverty. In 1996, there were 36.5 million people living below the poverty line in the United States. Experts say that unemployed and low-income people are more likely to be depressed and frustrated and therefore more apt to commit unlawful acts. This appears to be especially true in low-income urban areas, where homicide is the leading cause of death among African-American males between the ages of 25 and 45. Many people believe that many young men in the inner city have little hope for the future and therefore turn to crime.

Millions of Guns. Law enforcement officials cite the availability of guns and the willingness of people to use them as major factors in the high crime rate. Americans own more than 200 million firearms, including handguns, rifles, and shotguns. Although legal purchases are regulated by law, people can buy guns illegally with relative ease.

In 1996, there were about 9,000 handgun-related homicides in the United States, down from 11,000 in 1995. Some attribute this decline in part to the passage in 1993 of the Handgun Control Act (also known as the Brady gun control law), which mandates a five-day waiting period for anyone buying a handgun. In 1994, Congress also approved a ban on the manufacture, sale, or possession of nineteen types of semiautomatic assault weapons.

The Role of Drugs. Most experts say that the sale and use of illegal drugs, particularly heroin and cocaine, contribute greatly to violent crime. Illegal drugs are addictive, and many drug users commit crimes to support their drug habits. In addition, drug trafficking—the business of manufacturing and selling drugs—is lucrative. Shootings and murders are commonplace in the drug trade, as drug dealers vie for territory and money.

In this photo, a policeman from Colombia helps surround a forest where a drug lord is thought to be hiding. Sometimes the United States works with foreign countries. Since 1989, U.S. troops have conducted hundreds of counter-drug missions.

LEGALIZING MARIJUANA

STOP AIDS PROJECT

AP Photo/Eric Risberg

In 1996, California and Arizona voters passed ballot initiatives that legalized the use of marijuana for medical purposes. Some people suffering from decreased appetite and weight loss—because of cancer or AIDS—have found that marijuana's major active ingredient, THC, helps alleviate nausea. In California, people can go to certain locations, like the one pictured here, to fill their prescriptions. Four other states—Florida, Washington, Ohio, and Idaho—have also legalized medical marijuana use. Critics argue that these initiatives will lead to increased acceptance and use of all illegal drugs.

Fighting Drugs. According to a 1997 survey by the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, drug use among young people is increasing. The survey found that almost 11 percent of 12- to 17-year-olds admitted to using drugs in the month preceding the survey, double the percentage reported in 1992. How to confront drug use is a fiercely debated topic across the country.

Some people say illegal drugs are flooding into the country because of sophisticated production and trafficking methods used in foreign nations—the "supply side" theory. Others counter that drugs find their way into the United States because of the huge demand for narcotics. These differences in theory are important because each requires a different solution. The supply-siders advocate fighting the drug war abroad, at U.S. borders, and with the street dealers. Those who believe the demand theory advocate spending money on prevention and education programs at home. Others think that any viable antidrug effort must be a combination of both approaches.

Currently, the federal government allocates about 70 percent of its antidrug budget to curbing the supply of illegal substances. This money helps destroy crops used to make drugs in foreign countries, encourage those nations to plant other crops, and intercept shipments of narcotics before they enter the United States. The remaining 30 percent of the federal antidrug budget is spent on education and treatment programs to reduce the demand for drugs.

Fighting Crime. In 1994, Congress passed and President Bill Clinton signed the Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act, which provided $30 billion over six years for crime control. Major provisions of the new law included funding to add 100,000 police officers nationwide; a ten-year ban on certain semiautomatic assault weapons; an expansion of the death penalty to cover additional federal crimes; and approval to impose a mandatory life sentence on any criminal convicted of three felonies for violent crimes (a provision known as "three strikes and you're out").

CURRENT ISSUES

Gun Control. According to a 1997 U.S. Justice Department survey, Americans own almost 200 million

AP Photo/Arkansas Democrat-Gazette, Staton Breidenthal

Here, mourners attend a funeral service for a victim of the shooting at a middle school in Arkansas in March 1998. Two students shot and killed four female classmates and one teacher. These murders have sparked a national debate on whether juveniles should be tried as adults.

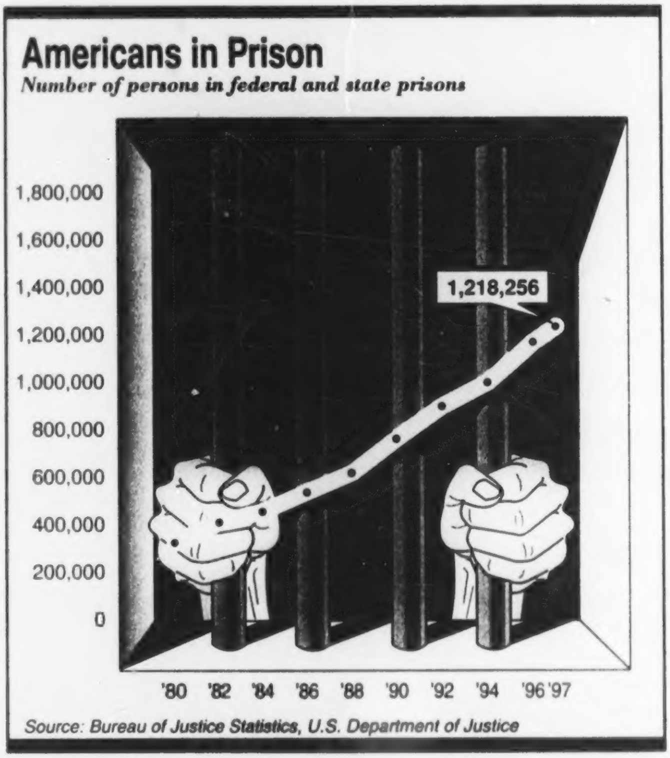
Close Up Foundation/Renée Bouchard

Although some Americans say gun control laws help reduce violent crime, others say these laws take guns out of the hands of law-abiding citizens. Americans currently own more than 200 million firearms.

handguns, rifles, and shotguns. The survey also found that 35 percent of all U.S. households and 25 percent of all adults own guns. The widespread availability of firearms and the high number of gun-related deaths have prompted some individuals and groups to organize efforts to control the sale and purchase of firearms. However, others argue that the Second Amendment to the U.S. Constitution guarantees citizens' right to buy and own guns without government control.

Pointing out that the majority of homicides are committed with firearms, gun control advocates assert that violent crime cannot be curbed unless handgun ownership is further regulated or banned. Proponents of gun control want the government to at least require owners to register their handguns and to perform background checks on all potential handgun buyers to ensure that they do not have criminal records. Some want to limit the number of guns an individual can buy within a certain time period; others want to ban the sale of handguns completely. Gun control proponents also believe that the Second Amendment does not rule out tighter gun regulation because they say the amendment protects the right of a militia (the National Guard), not private citizens, to have guns.

Opponents of gun control, led by the National Rifle Association (NRA), argue that the Second Amendment guarantees all citizens, not just those in the militia, the right to "keep and bear arms." Although the NRA supports instant computer checks of gun buyers as an alternative to waiting periods, gun control opponents fear that requiring licenses to own certain kinds of firearms may be the first step toward government confiscation of all guns. They argue that restricting gun ownership would not keep criminals from obtaining guns and would not prevent crime. Gun control opponents say that criminals do not purchase guns legally, but instead steal them or buy them from illegal dealers. They also warn that, ultimately, gun control could disarm the law-abiding general public and place them at the mercy of well-armed criminals. Furthermore, if citizens' liberties under the Second Amendment are limited, some Americans argue, other constitutional rights could be restricted as well.



Source: Bureau of Justice Statistics, U.S. Department of Justice

The United States has a higher percentage of people in jail than any other country in the world. A national study has shown that drugs or alcohol played a role in the crimes of 80 percent of the nation's prisoners.

Mandatory Sentencing. In 1997, state and federal prisons housed approximately 1.2 million inmates.

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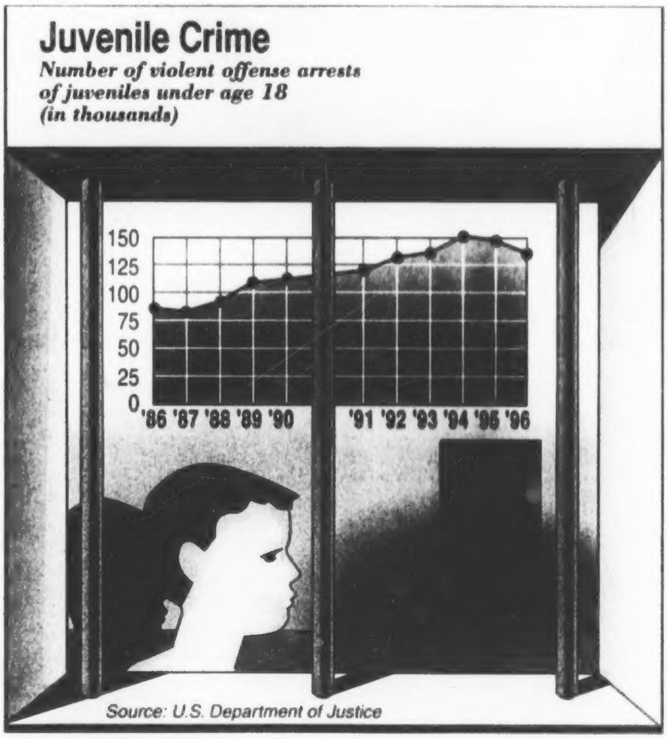
One of the reasons for the large U.S. prison population is that judges often have no choice but to impose mandatory prison sentences for first-time criminals, particularly drug offenders. Mandatory sentencing laws obligate judges to sentence drug offenders to at least a minimum term in prison. These laws became popular during the 1980s to combat the increase in crime produced by the illegal drug trade, particularly the buying and selling of crack cocaine.

Many law enforcement officials believe that mandatory sentencing laws send a strong message to would-be drug dealers, that they face time in jail if caught and convicted. Experts also argue that the judicial system has to act forcefully to keep people, especially children, free from drugs and the violence that often stems from their sale and use. In addition, proponents of mandatory sentencing laws believe that U.S. taxpayers are willing to spend their tax money locking up criminals and building prisons to get drug offenders off the streets.



Source: U.S. Department of Justice

Despite the recent drop in the violent crime rate, many Americans are alarmed at the high number of crimes committed by juveniles.

However, critics argue that mandatory jail terms for drug felons are too expensive and do little to reduce violent crime. Some experts contend that mandatory sentencing laws—even for first-time nonviolent drug felons—have lead to prison overcrowding. They believe that this will inevitably lead to early parole for many violent criminals. Furthermore, some argue that these laws take discretionary control

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away from judges, who otherwise might choose a rehabilitation program for some drug offenders, which may in the long run do more to reduce drug use in the United States.

Juvenile Crime. The criminal system for adults traditionally focuses on punishment and retribution. The criminal system for children under the age of 18, on the other hand, concentrates more on prevention of crime and rehabilitation of juvenile delinquents. However, due largely to fear of the rise of juvenile crime, almost all fifty states have reformed their juvenile justice laws so that in some instances children can be tried as adults. In some states, children even serve time in adult prisons. Lawmakers, as well as parents across the country, are debating these controversial policy changes.

Supporters of changing the juvenile justice system so that children can sometimes be tried as adults say that violent criminals—no matter what age—deserve harsh punishment. They think that the judicial system needs to give younger criminals a strong message so they do not commit crimes in the future. Proponents also maintain that teenage gangs are a great threat to some communities and that forceful action, such as trying children as adults, needs to be taken. Furthermore, some experts contend that time in jail will rehabilitate young criminals.

Opponents of these policies argue that placing teens in the adult justice system will turn them into hardened criminals. Peter Greenwood, the executive director of the criminal justice program at the Rand Corporation, says that treating juveniles like adults is how "we'll get our superpredators: They'll come out of our adult institutions." Instead many adults support strong crime prevention and rehabilitation programs, such as after-school programs and after-dark events such as midnight basketball. They believe that these programs offer a less expensive and less traumatic solution than overcrowding prisons with teenagers.

IN THE LINE OF FIRE

Although the violent crime rate overall is continuing to fall, the number of police officers killed in the line of duty increased during the first six months of 1997. On average, 150 police officers are killed nationwide each year. According to the Concerns of Police Survivors, a police rights group, almost half of the officers who died were killed by acts of violence—most of them were shot. The others died in vehicle accidents, often in high-speed chases.

OUTLOOK

Many local, state, and federal lawmakers believe the falling crime rate is evidence that the war on crime is working. However, many observers contend that recent anticrime laws that have emerged from state legislatures and Congress are, at best, short-term solutions. They believe the roots of crime—poverty, breakdown of families, and drug abuse—have yet to be properly addressed by the government and the increase in drug use among young people is an ominous sign for the future. Some criminologists believe that when these young people reach adulthood, their criminal behavior could get worse, and the violent crime rate might again rise. Therefore, many lawmakers call on law enforcement officials and communities across the country to continue to be vigilant in their anticrime efforts, not only improving enforcement but also taking steps to help prevent situations that often lead to crimes being committed.

THE DEBATE: CRIME AND DRUGS

Gun control laws reduce violent crime.

PRO: Gun-related murders account for more than half of all homicides committed every year in the United States. Waiting periods and bans on semiautomatic weapons are working; homicide rates are down in most U.S. cities. Other industrialized nations, including Great Britain and Japan, have had strict gun control laws for years and never have more than 100 gun-related deaths a year.

CON: Gun control laws do not prevent criminals from obtaining guns. These laws only prevent law-abiding citizens from getting the firearms that they need for protection and to which they are constitutionally entitled. Violent criminals obtain guns through illegal means and would continue to commit crimes if stricter laws were passed. Innocent civilians, however, could be left defenseless.

Drug convictions should carry mandatory jail sentences.

PRO: Mandatory sentencing laws are a strong deterrent to would-be drug dealers. Violent crime in America is decreasing because people now know that if they are caught dealing drugs, they will go to jail. The drug trade brings a great deal of violence to neighborhoods. The key to fighting this violence is keeping drug dealers off the street. People are willing to spend tax dollars to send more people to jail and keep drugs out of their communities.

CON: Prisons are overcrowded with first-time drug offenders, many of whom do not have violent criminal records. This is a huge expense and does not help reduce crime. Mandatory drug sentencing laws also result in less room in jail for repeat violent offenders. Furthermore, sentencing should be up to individual judges, who might think that rehabilitation programs are effective for some. Investing in these programs would be a good way to reduce drug use in the long term.

Juveniles should never be tried as adults.

PRO: If juveniles are tried as adults, they will become hardened criminals, "superpredators." Instead, more money should be spent on crime prevention and rehabilitation programs, such as afterschool clubs and sports events. These programs cost less than sending more people to prison and will stop prison overcrowding. Prevention and rehabilitation will ultimately result in lower crime rates overall.

CON: Violent criminals, no matter what their age, need to be given a strong message and a harsh punishment. Teenage gangs are a growing threat in some communities and they need to be dealt with forcefully. Furthermore, juvenile criminals should go to jail to be rehabilitated. By taking forceful action now, teenagers will learn their lesson and not commit crimes in the future.

THE ECONOMY

When Americans try to find a job, buy milk at a supermarket, or borrow money to buy a home, they are affected by the state of the U.S. economy. Lawmakers are always looking for ways to improve the economy because they know it can determine people's standard of living and quality of life. In addition, the economic strength of the United States plays a major role in determining its status as a world leader.

For the past few years, the United States has enjoyed a steadily growing economy and low unemployment. However, statistics suggest that the economic boom is not benefiting all Americans. Some income groups have experienced high unemployment and low wages, while others have prospered. Businesses, individuals, and lawmakers are concerned about how to ensure continued economic growth while improving wages and working conditions for all American workers.

KEY QUESTIONS

- Should the government do more to close the "income gap"?
- Should the government abandon the current tax system?
- Does the government focus too much on controlling inflation?

The debate over what role the federal government should play in the nation's economy continues across the nation and on Capitol Hill. Democrats traditionally favor a more activist government approach and point to growing economic inequities as evidence that the government needs to intervene. Republicans, on the other hand, believe the government's role should be small and that the market economy, if left alone, can provide more jobs and higher wages. Americans listen to these debates because they know the resulting economic policies will probably affect their daily lives.

BACKGROUND

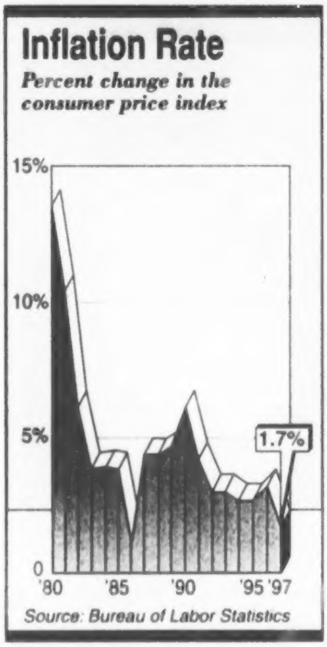
Factors in Economic Policy

Inflation. Inflation is a continuing rise in prices for goods and services. The higher the rate of inflation, the faster prices go up. The inflation rate declined from 13.5 percent in 1980 to 1.1 percent in 1986 before rising again to 6.1 percent in 1990. In 1997, inflation stood at only 1.7 percent—the lowest rate in more than ten years.

One danger of inflation is that, unless it is accompanied by a comparable increase in wages, it lowers the standard of living. Inflation particularly hurts people living on fixed incomes, such as retired Americans and those who depend on government-sponsored social programs.

A high rate of inflation also induces people to buy on credit and to forgo saving money. The economy suffers when individuals do not save, because banks have less money to lend for investments.

The government can control inflation in a variety of ways. The most common method is through the Federal Reserve Board (the Fed). The Fed determines the amount of money circulating in the economy. The Fed can reduce—or tighten—the money supply by raising interest rates (the price one must pay to borrow money). When interest rates go up, consumer spending decreases and prices level off or go down.



Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics

The rate of inflation measures how fast the prices of goods and services increase. Unless it is accompanied by a comparable rise in wages, inflation lowers the standard of living.

Unemployment. The rate of unemployment refers to the percentage of men and women who want to work but cannot find jobs. Because there are always people between jobs, the unemployment rate is never zero. Many economists consider the economy to be at full employment when 4 percent or less of the employable population is looking for work. At the end of 1997, the unemployment rate was 4.9 percent—the lowest since 1973.

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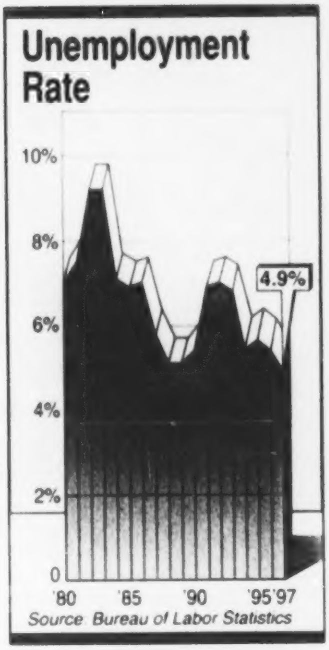

Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics

The rate of unemployment measures the percentage of the civilian labor force that wants to work but cannot find jobs. Unemployment was 4.9 percent at the end of 1997.

Traditionally, unemployment hits some groups harder than others—minorities more than whites, females more than males, teenagers more than adults. Sometimes unemployment goes up when companies move their factories to developing countries or to other parts of the United States. Relocating U.S. manufacturing plants sets off a "domino effect." When American companies move factories to developing countries where workers are paid lower wages, the price of the goods they produce goes down, but U.S. workers lose jobs. However, companies that keep their operations in the United States often must charge comparatively higher prices for their products, causing them to lose sales and forcing them to lay off workers.

Unemployment also affects government and the taxpayers. When men and women are out of work, they pay less in taxes. As a result, the government takes in less revenue. At the same time, the government has to pay out more in unemployment compensation.

In times of high unemployment, the government uses different tactics to create new jobs. It can create its own jobs. For example, during the Great Depression of the 1930s, the Roosevelt administration hired millions of Americans for public works projects such as planting trees, stringing power lines in rural areas, and constructing public buildings, bridges, and dams. Or, as is commonly done today, the government can lower taxes and interest rates to encourage businesses to expand their operations and hire more workers.

Recession. A recession is a period of economic slowdown. Recessions are usually marked by declines in production, spending, and consumer demand, and often lead to high unemployment.

To stimulate economic growth, the Federal Reserve Board can make more money available to banks for lending by lowering the interest rate it charges banks.

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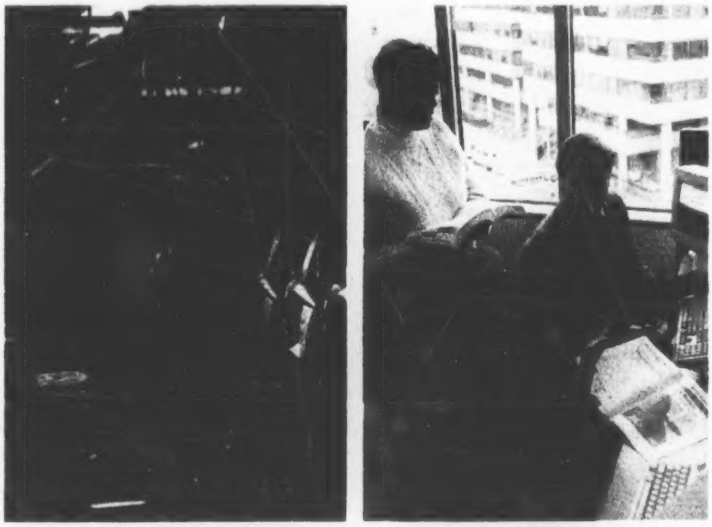
Another way the government can combat a recession is by reducing taxes. Lowering taxes puts more cash in consumers' pockets. Additional cash encourages consumer spending on goods and services.

Historically, the U.S. economy has gone through cycles of recession and recovery. The most recent recession began in 1990 following strong economic growth in the 1980s. Although the recession ended in the spring of 1991, job creation and consumer confidence—robust in past recoveries—were sluggish at best. By the end of 1993, growth began to pick up, a trend that continued through 1997, with the economy growing at a healthy 3 to 4 percent. Many economists predict that the economy will grow at around 2 percent in 1998.

Productivity. The productivity rate refers to the amount of goods produced per person per hour. A rising rate of productivity usually leads to higher wages, higher profits, and lower prices. Beginning in the 1960s and continuing until the early 1990s, productivity in some countries—particularly Japan—increased more than it did in the United States. This increase in foreign productivity meant that products made in other countries were less expensive to produce than comparable products made in the United States. As a result, they sold better in all markets.



AP Photo/The Flint Journal, File

Close Up Foundation/Renée Bouchard

In recent years, American workers have become more productive (they produce more goods per hour) and their workweek has gotten longer.

U.S. manufacturers found that they either had to spend millions of dollars modernizing their factories to increase productivity or give up manufacturing in the United States altogether. Some companies moved their factories out of the country to avoid the costs of meeting government safety and antipollution regulations and the high wages they had to pay American workers. Others modernized and found ways to reduce costs so they did not have to move overseas.

Although high productivity is generally considered good for the economy, it can change the nature of the workforce and temporarily increase unemployment. For example, as new machines and computers on assembly lines take over more and more human roles, workers find themselves unemployed or working in nonmanufacturing fields such as the service or information industries, two segments of the U.S. economy that are still growing.

In recent years, the productivity and the length of the average workweek of American workers have increased. These increases have allowed companies to produce more goods and services without hiring more employees. In 1997, productivity rose 1.8 percent and helped the United States remain one of the most productive nations in the world.

International Interdependence. The United States is the world's largest exporter and importer. The huge market for foreign goods in the United States creates jobs overseas and keeps foreign workers employed. Similarly, the health of the U.S. economy depends on how well American products sell in foreign markets. During the early 1990s, many Americans lost their jobs because sales of U.S. products declined overseas.

Economic conditions [illegible] one country can often affect the entire global economy. If the United States has a large budget deficit or a natural disaster that damages crops, for example, it could mean higher prices or fewer jobs somewhere else. In an attempt to stabilize the world economy, eight of the world's leading industrial nations meet annually at a "Group of Eight" (G-8) summit to coordinate policies for worldwide economic issues. The

G-8 countries—Canada, France, Germany, Great Britain, Italy, Japan, Russia, and the United States—discuss trade agreements, unemployment problems, and economic difficulties and try to develop cooperative solutions.

Recent economic turmoil in many Asian countries, including Japan, has hurt some U.S. companies who sell their products to these markets. If U.S. companies cannot sell their products to these large regions, they may have to scale back their operations and lay off workers.

The Economy of the 1980s and 1990s

Supply-Side Economics. After taking office in 1981, President Ronald Reagan promoted supply-side economics, a policy that aimed to raise employment and lower inflation by increasing the supply of goods and services in the economy. President Reagan believed that cutting tax rates would give businesses and consumers more cash to invest in new, more efficient machinery and technological advances. These advances could increase productivity and profits. Supporters of this theory believed that an increase in profits would automatically make tax revenues go up, thereby reducing the budget deficit naturally, without inflation and government interference. Congress approved Reagan's plan and the U.S. economy grew steadily from 1983 to 1990—one of the longest peacetime economic expansions in the nation's history. In the 1990s, many Republican lawmakers continued to support the idea that deep tax cuts would stimulate economic growth.

The Budget Deficit. Despite healthy economic growth during much of the 1980s, the federal budget deficit—the amount by which federal government expenditures exceed revenue—tripled. While some lawmakers blamed the increased defense spending and tax cuts of the Reagan and Bush administrations, others pointed to increased

CREDIT CARD FEVER

The Consumer Federation of America estimates that 40 percent of American households "are seriously burdened by credit card debt." Americans currently owe almost $400 billion to credit card companies. Due in part to overspending on these cards, more and more people are filing for personal bankruptcy. Some lawmakers blame the trend on companies that offer credit cards to people who are more unlikely to pay them off, such as college students and the unemployed. Others say that the increased debt is a major result of the ready availability of places to use the cards, such as supermarkets and movie theaters.

federal spending on entitlement programs, such as Social Security and Medicare, as the main reason for the rising deficit.

In 1995, a conflict between President Bill Clinton and Republican members of Congress over how to balance the budget brought the federal government to a standstill. Each year many of the same issues are debated when lawmakers attempt to agree on a federal budget. The debate generally centers around the dilemma of how to curb entitlement spending and avoid tax increases while maintaining the number and quality of government services. Although many lawmakers are concerned about what effect massive budget cuts would have on low-income and older Americans, many economists believe that the national debt is hampering the economic growth of the United States and needs to be addressed.

In 1997, after two and a half years of debate, President Clinton and Congress agreed on a plan to balance the budget and reduce taxes by 2002. However, by 1998, the budget deficit had been virtually eliminated by the growing economy and recent spending cuts.

Consumers tend to spend more money when they believe that the economy is doing well. Many economists measure how much consumers spend to see how well the economy is doing.

Close Up Foundation/Renée Bouchard

The American Economy Today. Despite statistics showing steady economic growth and low inflation, many Americans continue to be pessimistic about their future. For example, although unemployment remains low, many people doubt that their jobs are secure. Part of this anxiety can be traced to the growing wage inequality between upper- and lower-income Americans—a trend known as the "income gap."

The Income Gap. Since 1964, the annual incomes of the wealthiest (top 20 percent) of American families have risen more than 44 percent. In stark contrast, the annual incomes of the poorest American families (bottom 20 percent) have risen only 7 percent. Some economists say that as businesses and industries began relying more on technology, workers without technical skills or the means to acquire them fell even further behind. Others believe that a capitalist economy naturally produces some workers who prosper and some who do not. Whatever the cause, many economists agree that the economic classes in the United States are becoming more polarized.

The Stock Market. Over the last few years, the growing stock market has contributed to the booming economy by helping people's investments grow. In the stock market, people buy or invest in businesses and corporations. If businesses make money, or profits, their stocks generally go up in value. Stock prices are also affected by the global economy. For example, the recent ups and downs of the stock markets in Asian countries affect the United States.

WHERE THE JOBS ARE

According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, the top ten occupations that will grow the most in 1994–2005 are:

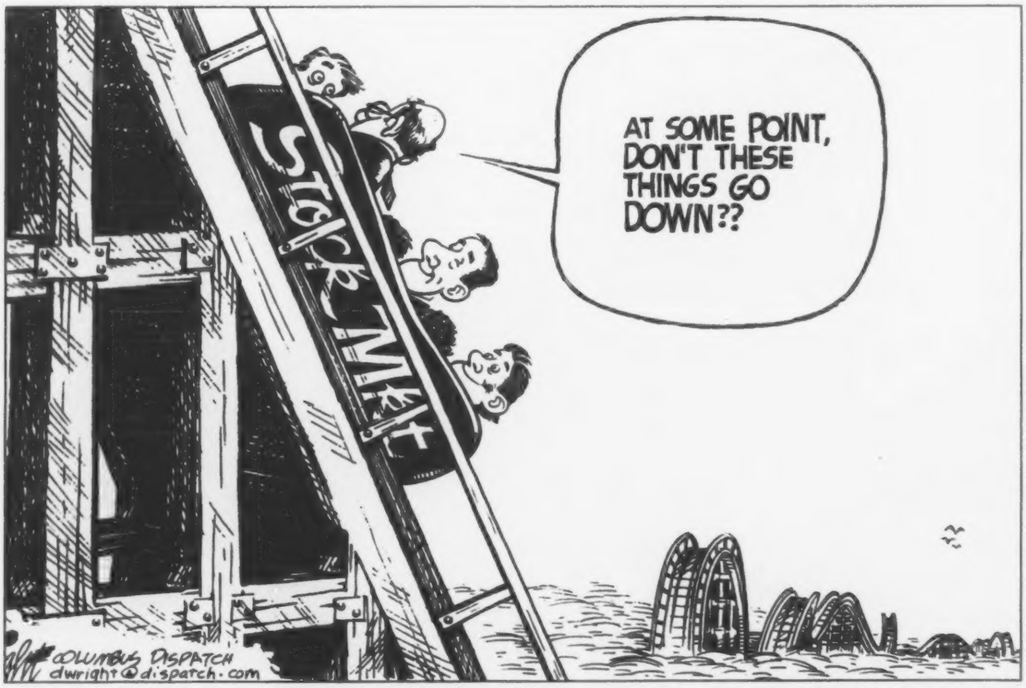
1. Cashiers
2. Janitors, cleaners
3. Retail salespersons
4. Waiters, waitresses
5. Registered nurses
6. General managers and top executives
7. Systems analysts
8. Home health aides
9. Guards
10. Nursing aides, orderlies, attendants

CURRENT ISSUES

Closing the Income Gap. While some experts view the income gap in the United States as a disturbing development, others argue that its potential harm to American society is being overstated.

Some lawmakers believe that the federal government should take an active role in bringing more economic equality to the United States. They supported laws, passed by Congress and President Clinton, that increased the minimum wage from $4.25 an hour to $5.15 an hour. They contend that other prosperous industrialized countries do not have similar income disparities because their governments make greater investments in education and have fairer tax systems. They argue that if measures are not taken to bridge the gap between rich and poor, social divisions and crime in the United States will worsen. Supporters of government intervention in the economy say that this crisis could be avoided if lawmakers would do more to ensure that all Americans benefit from economic growth.

However, others are against government intervention in the economy, except in times of emergency, such as a depression. Critics of a more active government role in the economy contend that the United States promises equality of opportunity and equality under the law, but has never promised or promoted equality in income. They argue that a capitalist system thrives on


STOCK MKT
AT SOME POINT, DON'T THESE THINGS GO DOWN??
COLUMBUS DISPATCH dwright@dispatch.com

Dick Wright, reprinted by permission of United Features Syndicate, Inc.

competition, which inevitably produces "winners" and "losers." In addition, government action to redistribute wealth could reduce the incentive to create wealth. If Americans do not have the motivation to succeed, the economy could suffer. In addition, critics also contend that expanding the government role in the economy could threaten individual freedom.

Tax Reform. For decades, the American people have complained about the U.S. income tax system being too complicated and unfair. The current U.S. tax code divides wage earners into five income brackets. The top tax bracket is composed of the wealthiest 1 percent of Americans—those with an annual income of at least $185,000. The bottom bracket consists of those individuals whose income is $21,000 or less. The wealthiest Americans pay a tax rate of about 27 percent; those on the lower end of the income scale pay about 4 percent. Under the present tax code, some income is tax-exempt while some is partly taxable. Some expenses are tax-deductible.

Some lawmakers and economists favor simplifying the current system, while others would replace entirely what they believe is a complex and burdensome income tax system with a simple flat tax. Under a flat tax, all Americans, regardless of income, would pay the same rate of 16 to 20 percent, depending on the specific proposal.

Still others have suggested eliminating the income tax system entirely and replacing it with a national sales tax. Many states and localities already use sales taxes to raise revenues. Instead of paying taxes on their incomes at the end of the year, Americans would pay a 15 percent fee when they spend money on goods or services. Under this plan, Americans who spend the most would pay the most taxes.

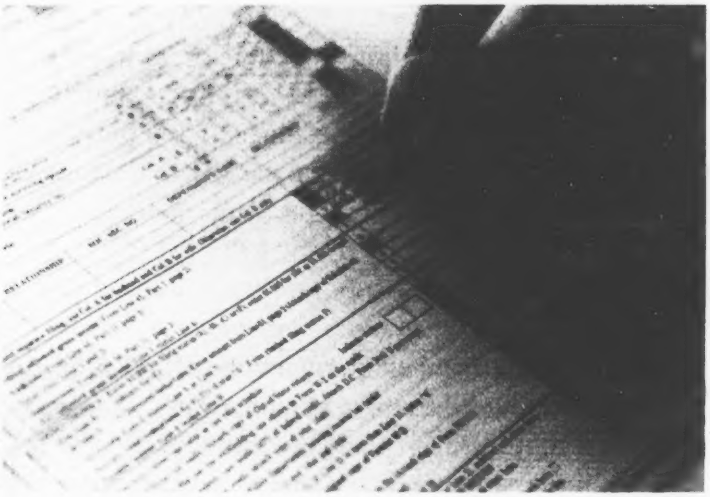
Those who support replacing the entire system say that the new plans, such as the flat tax or the national sales tax, would be a fairer and more efficient way to collect the nation's revenue. If the tax system were completely redone, paying taxes could become a simple and anxiety-free task. Proponents say that either plan would mean less taxes for many Americans and free up more income to save and invest, leading to a stronger economy. In addition, they believe that a new tax system could save money by reducing administrative costs at the Internal Revenue Service, the federal agency that collects taxes.

Opponents of these proposals say abandoning the current tax system would result in fewer revenues for the government, increasing the budget deficit. They think that the current tax system is fair because it demands more taxes from those who make more money. A flat tax would cut the tax rate for the wealthiest Americans and collect only slightly more or the same amount of taxes from the rest of the population. Critics also say that a national sales tax would be difficult and costly to enforce. They also fear that low-income Americans, who must spend a larger proportion of their incomes, would pay more in taxes under this plan while high-income Americans would pay less in taxes.

Controlling Inflation. A high rate of inflation—the skyrocketing of prices—can lower people's standard of living, discourage savings, and harm the economy. Low unemployment and steady economic growth—which have both been prominent the last few years—can cause

IS THE IRS OUT OF CONTROL?

The Internal Revenue Service (IRS) is the agency of the Treasury Department that collects almost all federal taxes, including personal and corporate income taxes. Some people complain that the IRS has too much power and is not responsive to taxpayer suggestions and complaints. In 1997, the U.S. House of Representatives passed a bill that would reform the IRS. The bill's main intent is to put American taxpayers on a more even playing field with the IRS when settling disputes. If the Senate passes the bill and the president signs it, a board will be created, composed mostly of private citizens, to oversee the IRS. Some people think that this bill should only be a first step and that the entire tax system needs to be reformed and simplified.



Close Up Foundation/Renée Bouchard

Most Americans believe that the income tax code is too complex. Some experts favor a flat tax, which would simplify tax preparation for all Americans and eliminate many of the functions of the Internal Revenue Service (IRS). Others think that a flat tax would harm many middle-class Americans.

inflation. If most people have jobs, industries have to offer higher wages to attract new employees. To pay these salaries, they often have to raise the prices of their products. The government tries to control inflation primarily through the monetary policies of the Fed. While some experts think that the government is too focused on controlling inflation, others think that this is the only way to promote economic stability.

Supporters of careful government control of inflation think that low inflation fosters a stable economy. They argue that if inflation is low, prices and jobs will remain secure and this will result in a higher standard of living for all Americans. Some economists believe that people save more money when inflation is low, because they do not think they have to purchase items quickly to avoid price increases. Investing and saving money helps the economy grow. Experts also think that the government should concentrate on controlling inflation to protect senior citizens and other people who rely on government programs. People living on fixed incomes generally suffer the most when prices rise.

Opponents of strict government control of inflation argue that the government should concentrate on creating jobs. Some think that the government's primary job is to make sure that all American people are employed. Some economists maintain that there must be some inflation in order to have full employment. Inflation is often

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a sign of a healthy, growing economy. Experts argue that, by tightly controlling inflation through raising interest rates, the government is stifling the economy. Others point out that inflation is difficult to control and forecast, and that the government has hurt the economy in the past by making careless monetary choices.

OUTLOOK

In 1997, the American economy continued to grow, as unemployment and inflation remained low. However, the current optimism of many economists toward the strength of the economy is not shared by a large portion of the public. Many Americans are pessimistic about the future of their country in the increasingly interdependent global economy. Wages for many workers are not increasing and the standard of living of many middle-income families is slipping.

Should the federal government play a more active role in the economy? Should the tax system be reformed? The president and Congress are debating these and other issues as the United States prepares to compete in the world economy of the twenty-first century.

THE DEBATE: THE ECONOMY

The government should do more to close the "income gap."

PRO: The growing wage inequality between the upper and lower classes threatens the economic and social stability of the United States. A society of "haves" and "have nots" is contrary to the promise of equality of opportunity for all Americans. The federal government needs to intervene and take steps, such as reforming the tax system and investing more in job education, to create greater equality.

CON: The income gap between the lower and upper class is an unfortunate but inevitable side effect of capitalism. Capitalism emphasizes competition and rewards those who succeed. Furthermore, wage inequality is partially a result of the growing global economy, which emphasizes high-skilled workers more than low-skilled workers. Government intervention in the economy is a violation of the basic freedoms of the United States.

The government should abandon the current tax system.

PRO: The current income tax system is too complicated and unfair and is an obstacle to economic prosperity. The tax-filing process for Americans should be simplified. Replacing the income tax system with a flat tax or a national sales tax would mean Americans would spend less on taxes and would encourage them to save and invest more of their incomes. Simplifying the tax system would also reduce the cost of bureaucracy at the IRS.

CON: The current U.S. tax system is fair because it demands more taxes from those who earn the most. A flat tax would likely benefit only the wealthiest Americans. A national sales tax would be difficult to enforce and could cause low-income Americans, who spend proportionately more of their incomes, to pay more, not less, in taxes. Overhauling the tax system will likely result in less government revenue, further contributing to the budget deficit.

The government should focus more on creating jobs than controlling inflation.

PRO: The government's main responsibility is to create jobs for the American people, not to control inflation. If America is going to reach full employment, there has to be some inflation. Inflation is the sign of a growing economy. The government is stifling the economy by tightly controlling inflation through raising interest rates. Inflation is difficult to forecast, and the government can hurt the economy with incorrect monetary decisions.

CON: The government needs to tightly control inflation to foster a stable economy. If inflation is kept low, prices and jobs will stay secure. This will result in a higher standard of living for everyone. People will save and invest more money and this will help the economy. Furthermore, by keeping inflation low the government would be helping older people and others who live on fixed incomes.

EDUCATION

Many Americans believe that public education in the United States is in crisis. As localities across the country struggle to provide adequate public services with fewer and fewer tax dollars, schools—and their students—often suffer. Overcrowded classrooms and increasing violence on school grounds are just two of the problems confronting school officials. Faced with the challenge of finding solutions, parents in local school districts and lawmakers in Washington generally agree that reforms are needed.

KEY QUESTIONS

- Should the federal government implement national educational standards and testing?
- Should the government give parents vouchers to pay for private schools?
- Are tax credits an effective means of offsetting the cost of higher education?

Unfortunately, the problems do not end with the public school system. The cost of higher education continues to soar, preventing many young Americans from attending college. Many who do are strapped with huge loans.

Although many educators believe that the federal government should have a role in improving the quality of public schools, others say that state and local governments will do a better job. Many parents, concerned that their children will not be prepared for the challenges of the twenty-first century, have demanded improvements in their community's schools. President Bill Clinton promised to make education reform a top priority of his second term in office. Ultimately, the national dialogue will have to involve all participants if Americans are to improve their nation's educational system.

BACKGROUND

The American School System

Community Approach. Education has always been valued by Americans. The Puritans viewed education as an important means of passing on religious teachings. Later, Americans thought that publicly supported education could wipe out the legacy of the British system, where the ability to read and write separated the economic classes. Since its inception in the mid-1800s, the public school system has enabled immigrant children to become American children, teaching them the English language and the skills necessary to thrive in the United States.

The U.S. public school system is highly decentralized, with local and state governments having the most control. Local school districts determine programs of study, select books, hire teachers, and set school budgets. A superintendent manages each school district, while a local school board, usually elected, makes budget and policy decisions. A school district may encompass an entire county or city or just a small geographical segment of a community. Some Americans say that a major problem with the U.S. education system is that schools are often funded unequally, because local real estate taxes, commonly used to finance education, vary widely. Wealthy districts with high property values can afford better schools and teachers than can districts with low property values.

State governments commonly distribute state funds to local schools, set accreditation standards, certify teachers, and provide other guidelines for public schools. The federal government remained generally uninvolved in public education until the U.S. Supreme Court ended school segregation in 1954. In the 1960s, the government began to look for new ways to fight poverty.

School Desegregation. In the landmark case of *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas* (1954), the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that racially segregated public schools were unconstitutional, saying that "separate educational facilities are inherently unequal." Later court decisions ordered schools to begin desegregating immediately. To comply with court orders, many school districts began busing students to schools outside their neighborhoods to bring together children of different races and ethnic backgrounds. In 1991, the Supreme Court ruled that school districts can be released from court-ordered busing plans if they have done their best to eliminate the effects of segregation.

Some school systems have tried to encourage integration by establishing magnet schools. These schools attract students to schools outside their neighborhoods by specializing in areas such as the performing arts, science, mathematics, or foreign languages. In many states, charter schools are becoming increasingly popular. Charter schools are publicly funded schools with specific educational goals, such as improving immigrant students' English-language skills or working with students who have learning disabilities. Charter schools tend to be smaller and more racially integrated than other public schools. In spite of these efforts, studies suggest that the nation's schools are becoming resegregated. Many wealthier residents have moved from the cities to the

There are now about 800 charter schools across the country. At right, charter school students in Boston work together on a science project.

Peter Hamblin, The Edison Project, Boston Renaissance Charter School, Boston, Mass.

DRESS FOR SUCCESS

Faced with increasing violence and falling test scores, teachers and administrators are struggling to improve the quality of their schools. Some think that school uniforms may be at least part of the solution. In 1997, more than half the country's urban school districts, and many rural districts as well, adopted school uniform policies. At many schools, wearing uniforms is voluntary and simply amounts to asking students to wear, for example, navy or khaki pants or skirts, and red, white, or blue shirts. Proponents claim that wearing school uniforms builds self-esteem and a sense of community and reduces the cost of dressing children for school. Critics worry that uniforms suppress students' individuality without adding any real value to their education.

suburbs or have chosen to send their children to private schools, leaving mostly lower-income minorities to cope with deteriorating inner city schools.

The Great Society. In the 1960s, President Lyndon Johnson addressed the problem of poverty through his Great Society programs. "Poverty has many roots," Johnson said, "but the taproot is ignorance." He proposed three new federal education programs: the Economic Opportunity Act (1964), the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (1965), and the Higher Education Act (1965). Included in these laws were provisions establishing adult literacy programs, financing loans for college students, and funding Project Head Start.

Head Start provides education, nutrition, and health programs to disadvantaged children. The program operates in more than 1,400 centers in communities nationwide. Head Start attempts to teach 3- and 4-year-olds basic concepts, such as prereading skills, that many believe will make them more likely to succeed in school and help break the poverty cycle over time.

Education Today. After more than a decade of increased state and federal spending and measurable improvement in many areas, public education reform remains a top concern among Americans. While recent

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Project Head Start, begun in 1965, was the first program to address the needs of disadvantaged children nationwide. It provides both food and education to 3- and 4-year-olds. Its aim is to help children get ready, physically, emotionally, and mentally, to start school.

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studies show that American fourth graders do well in science compared to children in other industrialized nations, their mathematics scores are not as strong. Although minority students remain behind their white counterparts in high school graduation rates, census reports indicate that many African Americans return to school and receive high school equivalency degrees in their twenties. Many Americans are alarmed by statistics showing that only about 50 percent of public school students across the country score at basic skill levels in reading, mathematics, and science. However, politicians, parents, and educators hope that the latest reforms will help solve these problems.

CURRENT ISSUES

National Standards and Testing. Traditionally, control of public schools has rested with local school districts. Over the years, however, state governments have become involved in overseeing issues such as textbook selection, teacher certification, and equitable school funding. The federal government's role in education has, historically, been quite limited.

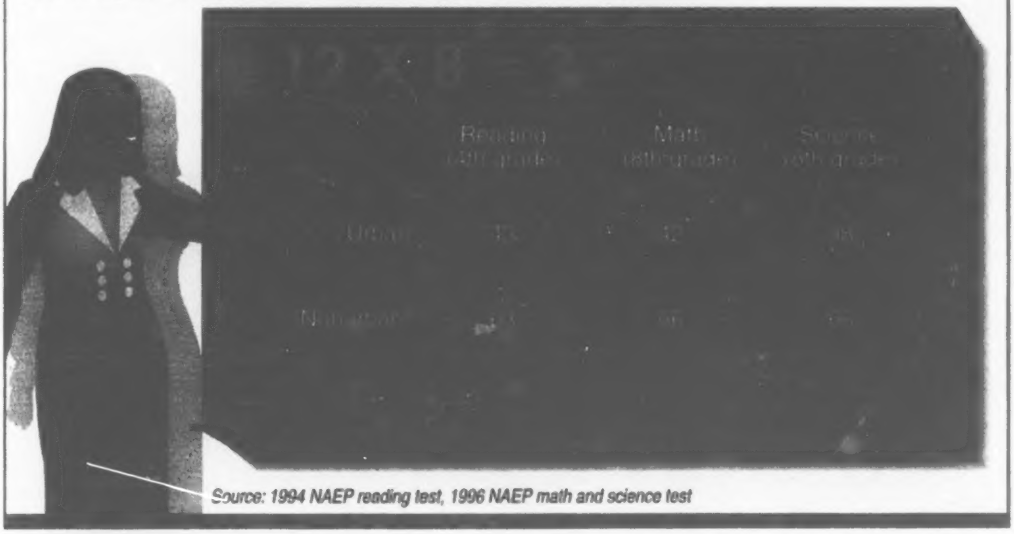
By the 1960s, however, the federal government had taken on a broader role in determining policies and practices in the nation's schools. Building on the federal initiatives of the Great Society programs of the 1960s, President Jimmy Carter created the U.S. Department of Education in 1979. In the 1980s, President George Bush strove to bring about further reforms in the nation's schools. In 1994, President Clinton signed into law the Goals 2000: Educate America Act, which set out eight national education goals and provided money to help states meet them.

Many of the nation's mayors and governors oppose increased federal involvement in public schools because they believe that education should stay under local and state control. In addition, many members of Congress think that federally funded education initiatives are costly and wasteful. They say that funding for education should be turned over to the states to administer. Some have even proposed abolishing the Department of Education.

In 1997, at President Clinton's urging, Congress passed a plan to improve the nation's schools. A key part of the program was to begin testing the reading and

Falling Behind

Percentage of students in urban and nonurban schools who scored at the basic level or higher on the National Assessment of Educational Progress exam



	Reading (4th grade)	Math (8th grade)	Science (8th grade)
Urban	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Nonurban	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

Source: 1994 NAEP reading test, 1996 NAEP math and science test

Many Americans are alarmed by the low percentage of students with basic skills in reading, mathematics, and science. The statistics are worse for students in urban school districts than for those in suburban and rural districts.

NO MORE PENCILS, NO MORE BOOKS

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Educators nationwide are finding new ways to take advantage of the information now available on the World Wide Web. In Texas, the State Board of Education is considering doing away with traditional textbooks. Some board members believe that the $1.8 billion they spend each year on books would be better spent providing every student with a $500 laptop computer. Proponents of this plan contend that information becomes outdated so quickly these days that it is much more efficient to use CD-ROMs and the Internet than to reprint and replace textbooks every year. Critics are apprehensive about entrusting students with such expensive and breakable equipment.

mathematics skills of fourth and eighth graders nationwide to assess schools' performance. The president said national testing was necessary to ensure that children fully master the basics of these two subjects at an early age and are prepared for high school, college, and joining the workforce.

Supporters of more federal involvement in public education say schools need a benchmark, such as national testing and education standards, to evaluate educational reform. They believe that the test results would hold school administrators and teachers accountable for students' progress and confirm parents' demands for stronger curricula. Proponents think that national standards may help the future U.S. workforce become more competitive in the global market. Furthermore, supporters argue that only federal guidance will help students in poor school districts measure up to students from wealthier districts.

Opponents of federal involvement in public schools say that state and local authorities understand better what kind of standards and practices their school districts need. They argue that federal money would be better spent on reducing class sizes, making school

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repairs, and buying new classroom equipment. Critics also believe that national standards will inevitably lead to a national curriculum, the content of which may be fiercely opposed in some school districts. Finally, detractors claim that national testing will further stigmatize children in poor school districts if their test scores are substantially lower than those of students in wealthier districts.

School Choice. Many observers of the public school system say that students are not getting the education they deserve because parents have little say in where their children go to school. They contend that schools have no incentive to improve, because they have guaranteed student enrollments based on geography, not on quality. By giving parents the choice of where to send their children, these critics argue, schools—much like businesses in a free-market economy—would have to improve to attract students.

In the late 1980s and 1990s, the idea of "school choice" became one of the most popular educational reform proposals. Parents who want to choose another school for their children have several options. Charter schools and magnet schools have been created to educate students with specific needs and interests. In some states, parents can transfer their children to better public schools outside their neighborhoods.

One controversial version of school choice would involve issuing vouchers to parents to help pay the cost of their children's education at a private school. Many parents with children in poor public schools, and parents who are already paying tuition fees at private schools, champion the idea. Over the past few years, some cities, such as Cleveland and Milwaukee, have experimented with vouchers, with mixed results.

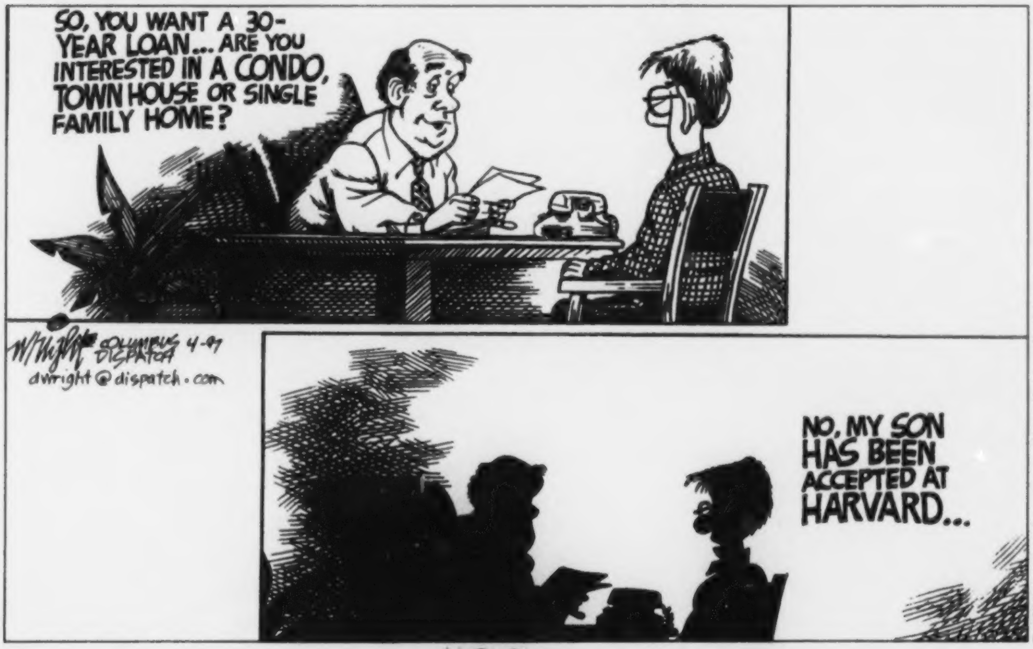
Supporters of school voucher plans say holding schools accountable for their performance

WHAT'S THE SCORE?

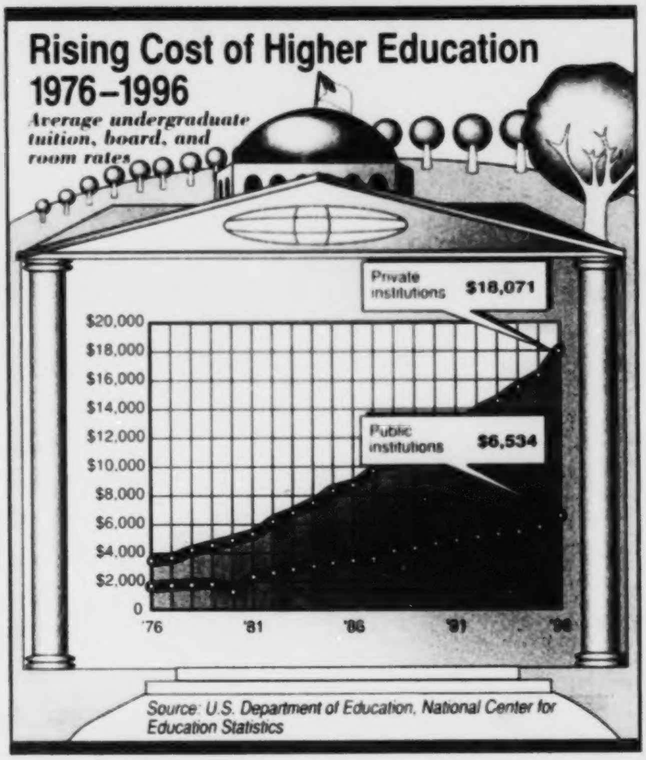
The SAT, a test taken by thousands of college-bound high schoolers each year, provides universities with a standardized method of evaluating their applicants. In 1996, the College Board, which administers the SAT, "recentered" the test scores in an effort to raise the average score (428 verbal, 482 math) closer to the intended average of 500. Test officials believed that the new scoring—which could raise scores nearly 100 points—will better reflect the diversity and talent of today's high school students. Critics of the new scoring system say it will overly inflate scores, making them less meaningful for college admissions offices.

would force them to improve. According to proponents, a voucher system would result, at least in the short term, in a drop in enrollments—and available funds—at substandard schools. This might force teachers and administrators at these schools to fix problems or else risk being closed down. Those who favor vouchers believe that low-income parents should have the opportunity to choose a school based on what is best for their children, much like parents who can afford private school do already. When public schools become good enough to compete with private schools for students, supporters say, the entire educational system will improve.

Opponents say that only those students who are fortunate enough to be accepted at private schools will benefit from vouchers. Critics say that there is no solid evidence that voucher systems improve schools or raise student test scores. They believe that vouchers would hurt the students forced to remain at public schools. Critics worry that the most motivated students with the most vocal parents would leave the public school system if given vouchers. It is often this group that forces positive change in the system. Furthermore, critics say that voucher programs may be unconstitutional, because


SO, YOU WANT A 30-YEAR LOAN... ARE YOU INTERESTED IN A CONDO, TOWN HOUSE OR SINGLE FAMILY HOME?
NO, MY SON HAS BEEN ACCEPTED AT HARVARD...
Wright COLUMBUS DISPATCH 4-97
dwright@dispatch.com

Dick Wright, reprinted by permission of United Features Syndicate, Inc government-funded vouchers used to pay for education at religious schools may violate the constitutional principle of separation of church and state.



Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics

The rising cost of higher education concerns many lower- and middle-income families.

Higher Education. The cost of higher education in America has risen more than 200 percent since 1980, making it more difficult for middle-income and lower-income Americans to afford college for their children. Some states, such as Texas and Virginia, have begun allowing parents to pay for their child's state college tuition in advance to avoid any further increases in cost.

To help Americans pay for higher education, the federal government offers a variety of programs, such as Pell grants and low-interest loans to college students. Pell grants are awarded to low-income students and, unlike loans, do not need to be paid back after graduation. Lower- and middle-class students are eligible for subsidized education loans, which they must pay back within ten years of graduation. While students are in school, and for six months after graduation, the government pays the interest on the loan. Nearly half of the nation's college students currently have some form of government-funded tuition loan.

In 1997, President Clinton proposed and Congress passed a two-year $1,500 tax credit for low- and middle-income families to apply toward the cost of college. Proponents of the legislation believe that because the

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U.S. economy is becoming more dependent on international awareness and technological skills, the government should change the tax code to encourage people to invest in education. They point out that many middle-income families earn too much to qualify for some grants and scholarships but not enough to pay for college out of their savings. These families are forced to either forgo further education or accept heavy debt. The tax breaks, they say, are designed to keep families from becoming overburdened with debt while paying to educate their children.

Critics of the new law argue that the money misses the lower-income families who need it the most. They point out that the students who most need financial aid come from families who don't earn enough money to be eligible to receive tax credits. These students, they insist, would benefit more from direct aid in the form of increased grants. Furthermore, they worry that an increase in money available to pay for higher education will encourage colleges to raise tuition fees even higher.

OUTLOOK

As school districts nationwide struggle with mediocre test scores, shrinking budgets, and facilities that are falling into disrepair, some parents have demanded more control over how their children are educated. How local and state governments handle these challenges may be determined in part by what role the federal government plays in educational reform. The rising cost and changing values of higher education have also been a cause for concern. Education is an issue that is a top priority for citizens and lawmakers alike. Although they may disagree on how to improve the educational system in the United States, they agree that the future success of America's children likely will be determined by the education they receive today.

THE DEBATE: EDUCATION

The federal government should implement national educational standards and testing.

PRO: To ensure quality education, the federal government needs to play an active role in creating educational policy and administering educational programs. National standards will help the future U.S. workforce prepare for the global market. National testing is the best way to measure schools' and students' progress and make education equal for students in both poor and wealthy school districts.

CON: State and local governments should continue to set and measure educational standards. Federal money would be better spent on reductions in class sizes, school repairs, and classroom equipment. National standards will lead to a national curriculum, which is sure to be controversial and divisive. National testing will only stigmatize minority students in poor school districts.

The government should give parents vouchers to pay for private schools.

PRO: Parents, no matter their income, should have the right to choose where their children go to school. Public schools will only improve if parents can hold them accountable by moving their children to better schools. The problems in the public school system are not due to lack of funds, but rather to poor management and inefficiency. Giving parents vouchers to use to send their children to private schools will force schools to improve if they want to attract students and survive.

CON: School choice will help only those students who are accepted at private schools. There is no evidence that vouchers have improved the school systems where they have been tried. Communities need good students and interested parents to force reform in the current public education system, not abandon it in favor of private schools. Allowing parents to use government-funded vouchers to send their children to religious schools violates the separation of church and state.

Tax credits are an effective means of offsetting the cost of higher education.

PRO: To ensure that all Americans are able to get the higher education they need, the government should offer tax credits to the families of college students. Because the U.S. economy depends more than ever on well-educated citizens, the government should encourage people to make an investment in their education. Families should not have to undertake enormous debt to send their children to college.

CON: Tax credits will help those families who already earn enough money to pay for their children's education. The poorest students' families do not earn enough to take advantage of tax credits. These students need to receive more direct aid from the government. Increasing the amount of money middle-income families can spend on education will only encourage colleges to raise tuition costs.

HEALTH CARE AND AGING

Americans spend more on medical care than do people in any other nation—more than $1 trillion in 1996. Some analysts believe that by 2000, the United States' annual health care bill will soar to $1.5 trillion. Responding to the escalating cost, lawmakers in Washington are debating a variety of proposals to reform health care in America.

Many believe that Medicare and Medicaid are in dire need of reform. These government programs, which provide health care to older, disabled, and low-income Americans, are very costly, and are responsible for a major portion of the annual federal budget. Although a large number of citizens want the government to provide health care for vulnerable segments of society, many are alarmed at the spiraling cost of these programs. Health care costs are expected to continue to soar as a larger segment of the population gets older. Many observers predict that unless Congress makes significant reforms, Medicare could go bankrupt early next century.

KEY QUESTIONS

- Should Medicare be expanded?
- Should the FDA's drug approval process be reformed?
- Should the federal government provide universal health care coverage?

Despite enormous health care expenditures, more than 41 million Americans do not have adequate health insurance. Many cannot afford private medical insurance and do not qualify for government programs. Even people who have insurance frequently discover that they cannot afford to pay the deductible (the amount of money patients must pay before their insurance coverage begins), so they do without medical treatment. Soaring medical costs and a growing number of uninsured Americans have contributed to what many believe is a health care crisis. How the federal government deals with this problem could determine the quality and accessibility of health care in the United States for years to come.

BACKGROUND

Making Health Care Accessible

The Push for Universal Health Care Coverage. Many Americans believe that the government should ensure that everyone receives adequate health care. Others, however, think that health care is a private responsibility. The debate over government financing for health care has been going on for more than eighty-five years.

In 1912, former president Theodore Roosevelt recommended that health insurance be provided for all Americans. In 1935, President Franklin Roosevelt considered making national health insurance a part of Social Security, his new program to provide financial help to older Americans. However, Roosevelt dropped this idea because he was afraid that a health insurance plan might hurt the Social Security Act's chances for congressional

National Archives

In 1965, President Lyndon Johnson signed into law Medicare and Medicaid bills, which provide guaranteed health coverage to older and low-income Americans. Former president Harry Truman, a staunch advocate of national health insurance, looks on.

approval. After World War II, national health insurance became an issue again. President Harry Truman believed that "financial means should not determine the quality and quantity of medical services a citizen receives." He advocated passage of a comprehensive federal insurance program, but Congress blocked his effort.

In 1964, President Lyndon Johnson introduced civil rights legislation and promoted social programs designed to eliminate poverty and help bring economic well-being to all Americans. Johnson called his plan the Great Society. The capstone of the Great Society was the introduction in 1965 of government financing for health care through Medicare and Medicaid. These programs serve older, disabled, and low-income Americans.

Medicare. Today, more than 38 million older Americans and people with disabilities receive assistance through Medicare. Most people are eligible for Medicare at age 65. Medicare consists of two parts. The first

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Older Americans consume four times as much in medical services as younger adults. However, because of Medicare more than 99 percent of the elderly (people over the age of 65) have health insurance.

part helps pay for hospital nursing care. Each working person in the United States pays a special payroll tax to fund this hospital insurance. All retired recipients of Social Security, retired railroad workers, and persons with disabilities are entitled to Medicare coverage, although they must pay a certain amount, called a deductible, before Medicare will cover hospital expenses. Recipients may also have to make additional payments to their doctors or hospitals to help meet costs that Medicare does not pay.

The second part of Medicare, supplemental medical insurance, covers 80 percent of doctors' fees, laboratory tests, and other medical expenses. Supplemental medical insurance is optional, and beneficiaries must pay a monthly premium—a payment that buys insurance coverage—to be eligible.

The Medicare Dilemma. The government spent more than $203 billion on Medicare in 1996, about 9 percent of total federal spending. In 1996, the Medicare Board of Trustees reported that the program will go bankrupt early next century unless reforms are implemented. Most members of Congress believe that the government cannot afford to continue increasing Medicare spending when other programs are being cut to reduce the budget deficit. For these reasons, Medicare reform has become a top legislative priority in Washington.

Some lawmakers believe that reforming Medicare is essential to accomplishing three related tasks: reducing the budget deficit, controlling health care costs, and ensuring that the program's funds do not run out. In 1997, to prevent the program's insolvency and to help balance the budget, President Bill Clinton and Congress agreed to cut Medicare spending by almost $120 billion over the next five years. They also agreed to restructure the program by raising the cost of monthly premiums and encouraging senior citizens to join health maintenance organizations (HMOs).

JOE CAMEL AND THE MARLBORO MAN

Cigarette smoking among high school seniors has reached a seventeen year high. To curb teen smoking, tobacco companies have agreed to eliminate characters such as Joe Camel and the Marlboro Man. These images have worldwide recognition, and some say they have lured children to smoke. President Clinton proposed a mass-advertising campaign to convince children not to start smoking. He has also suggested increasing the cost of cigarettes, which many think will be a deterrent for people of all ages.

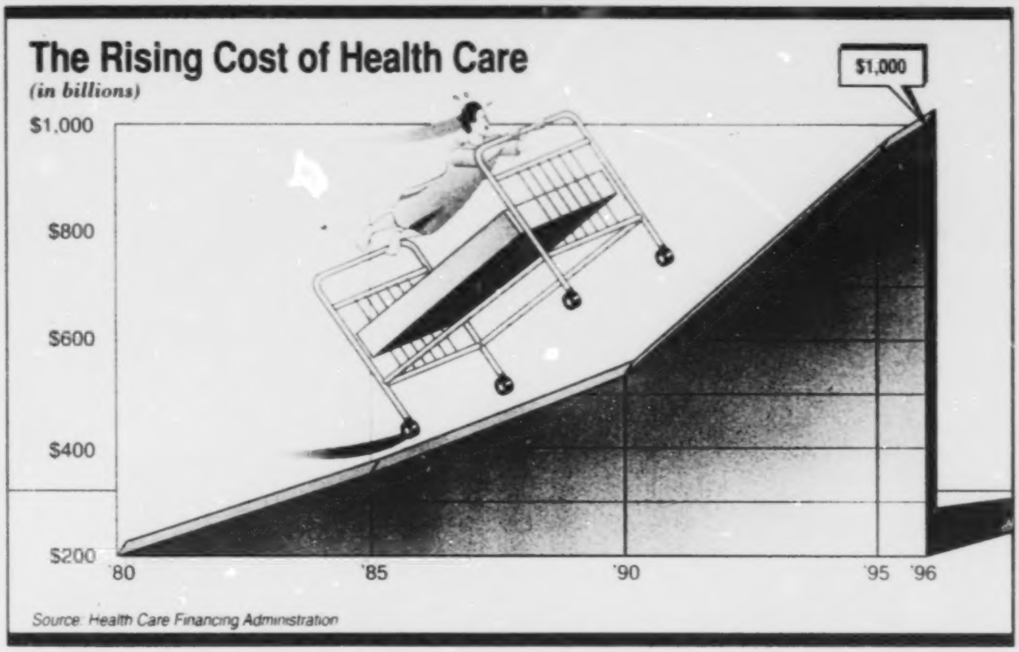
In 1998, President Clinton proposed expanding Medicare benefits to early retirees, at age 62, and to displaced workers who are at least 55 years old. Each group would have to pay monthly premiums to receive benefits. Currently, there are 22 million Americans between the ages of 55 and 64; roughly 3 million are uninsured.

Medicaid. Medicaid is a joint federal-state program that helps millions of men and women with low incomes pay for health care. The federal government matches state funds for Medicaid; each state establishes its own eligibility requirements based on income and administers its own program. States follow federal regulations on paying for hospital care, long-term nursing care, doctors' fees, laboratory tests, and X-ray examinations. Medicaid also covers the fees and premiums for Medicare recipients who are near the poverty level. In 1996, the federal government spent almost $150 billion on Medicaid.

In 1997, President Clinton and Congress agreed to spend an additional $16 billion to provide health benefits to 5 million uninsured children over the next five years. Lawmakers are discussing whether to expand Medicaid or give a block grant (lump sum of money) to each state. Medicaid already provides health benefits to 22 million children.

Rising Health Care Costs

A National Expense. For the past twenty-five years, the cost of health care has increased much faster than has the overall cost of living. When Medicare and Medicaid were introduced in 1965, spending on medical services by the government, private insurers, and patients totaled about $41 billion a year, with the federal government providing $1.7 billion of the total. By 1996, annual health expenditures topped $1 trillion. Federal, state, and local governments paid almost 50 percent of the nation's health care bills. Some predict health care spending will hit $1.5 trillion by 2000.



The annual cost of health care was more than $1 trillion in 1996.

Most experts agree that three major developments have fueled the increase in health care costs: (1) the expansion of a system in which government and insurance companies, rather than patients, pay medical bills; (2) the introduction of expensive new medical technologies; and (3) the rapid growth of the older American population.

Government and Insurance Payments. Health care experts believe medical costs have risen because most health care services are paid for by private insurance companies and the government rather than by patients themselves. Some insurers, including the government, cover 90 percent of patients' hospital costs and 80 percent of fees doctors charge. Most insurers also use an "after the fact, fee for service" payment policy. Under this system, hospitals and doctors submit bills directly to insurance companies and are reimbursed for most of their costs. This method of payment has led to accusations that some doctors and hospitals charge higher

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prices and perform more services than may be necessary. Some doctors have even admitted to submitting bills for services that they did not provide. In general, patients have not been too concerned about health care costs because they trust their doctors' judgment and because they know their insurance companies or the government will pay the bills.

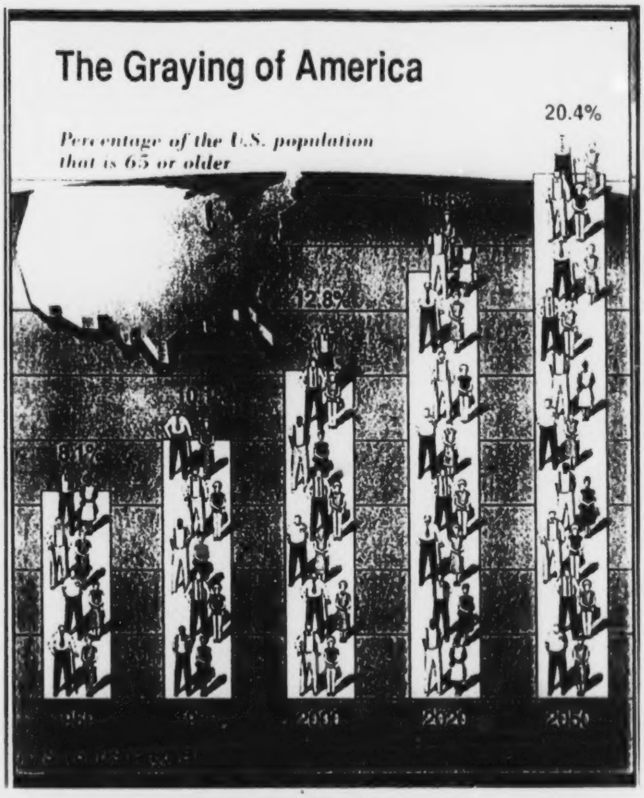
New Technologies. The development of new technologies has increased health care costs. Some medical equipment is extremely expensive and requires highly trained, well-paid operators. Often, several hospitals in one area will buy the same expensive equipment and offer the same services to attract more patients. The added costs of duplicated services and equipment that is infrequently used are passed on to patients and their insurers. Recent developments in medical technology have also made it possible to prolong life, adding significantly to overall health care costs. Today, organ transplants are commonplace, dialysis is available for kidney failures, respirators keep people breathing when their lungs fail, and machines assist diseased hearts. Doctors are trained to keep patients alive at all costs and to give them the best treatment possible, but these efforts are costly and sometimes cause severe financial strain for patients and their families.

MANAGED CARE EXPLOSION

Some lawmakers and health experts believe that managed care is the wave of the future for U.S. health care. Health maintenance organizations (HMOs) are the most common managed care plans. HMOs offer consumers a range of medical benefits for a set monthly fee. Managed care plans contain costs by monitoring health care professionals, requiring preauthorization for hospital visits, and limiting access to expensive medical specialists. About two-thirds of all Americans with private health insurance are now enrolled in managed care plans.

America Grows Older. The size of America's older population will dramatically increase as the "baby boom" generation (those born between 1945 and 1964) begins to retire early next century. Some experts believe that, by 2020, older Americans will account for about 20 percent of the U.S. population. Consequently, America's health care bills will soar.

Health Care Expenses. For the average citizen, health care costs rise with age. Each older American consumes four times as much in medical services as a younger adult and eight times as much as a child. Because of Medicare, only less than 1 percent of people over the age of 65 do not have health insurance. However, older people still have to pay monthly insurance premiums and a deductible out of their own pocket before Medicare will pay any bills. Many senior citizens live on fixed incomes, and a medical emergency can wipe out their savings.



Some economists believe that this increase in the number of retirees could bankrupt Social Security and Medicare unless Congress reforms these programs.

Retirement Savings. Recent surveys suggest that many baby boomers do not realize how much money they need to set aside to retire comfortably. Old age is expensive, largely due to health care costs. The elderly traditionally have three sources of income: company pensions, Social Security, and savings. However, fewer companies are now offering pension plans and others are limiting these benefits. Furthermore, some experts predict that Social Security will go bankrupt, or at the very least offer reduced benefits, by the time baby boomers begin collecting their checks. And finally, people are saving less money than previous generations. Consequently, many are worried about whether they will have enough money to retire.

Recent Reform Efforts. In response to the growing concern about the rising cost of health care in the United States, lawmakers in Washington have, in recent years,

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proposed a number of reform initiatives. In 1993, President Clinton proposed a major overhaul of the health care system. His plan was designed to provide medical coverage, funded by the federal government, to all Americans regardless of their income or employment status. However, Congress rejected the plan amid concerns about its costs and the government's ability to provide quality care.

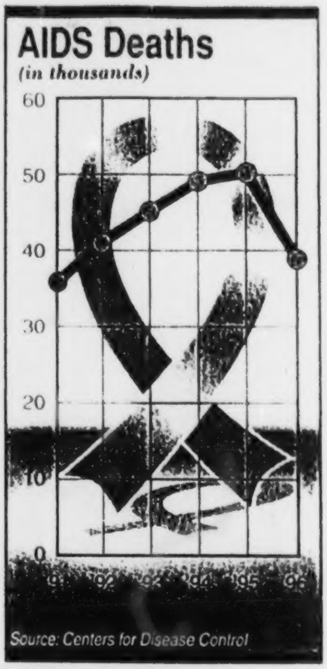
Since then, lawmakers have focused their efforts on significantly smaller reform plans. In 1996, Congress passed the Health Insurance Portability Act, making it easier for people to keep their health insurance even if they change jobs or have a preexisting medical condition. The following year, President Clinton unveiled a plan to guarantee health care to more than 5 million uninsured children. In addition, both parties have proposed plans to decrease the cost of Medicare and to prevent private health care costs from spinning out of control. The current push for health care reform in Washington will likely be characterized by similar incremental, bipartisan efforts.

Other Government Spending. In addition to Medicare and Medicaid, the U.S. government spends billions of dollars for other health-related programs, including disease prevention, research, training, and consumer

OUTBREAK

In 1997, the secretary of agriculture, Dan Glickman, recalled 25 million pounds of ground beef from grocery stores and fast food restaurants because of an outbreak caused by a strain of *Escherichia coli (E. coli)*, a form of bacteria that can cause illness and even death. This beef recall, the largest in U.S. history, sparked a national debate over food safety and food-borne illness. *E. coli* and another form of bacteria, *Salmonella*, have been found in a variety of fruits and vegetables, as well as meats. In response, some people are cooking red meat more thoroughly and cleaning kitchen utensils more often. Others are demanding that the United States place tighter regulations on foods processed in the United States as well as imported products.

health and safety. The federal government funds health research and training programs for doctors and nurses through the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention; the National Institutes of Health; and the Alcohol, Drug Abuse, and Mental Health Administration. Government scientists carry out about 85 percent of all health-related research in the country to find new treatments for cancer, heart disease, diabetes, allergies, AIDS, and other diseases.



Source: Centers for Disease Control

In 1996, the number of people who died from AIDS started going down.

The AIDS Crisis

One disease receiving a great deal of attention from medical researchers is acquired immune deficiency syndrome (AIDS). There is no known cure for AIDS and no vaccine against the virus that causes it. However, experts say that knowledge about AIDS and appropriate preventative measures can slow its spread.

AIDS is caused by a virus called the human immunodeficiency virus (HIV). HIV attacks the body's white blood cells. White blood cells are part of the body's immune system, which helps guard against and fight off infections. When these cells are damaged, the body cannot easily fight off disease. Thus, people with AIDS often die from illnesses that would not have posed a threat to their lives if their immune systems had been functioning properly.

Search for a Cure. Since the illness was first recognized in the early 1980s, more than 500,000 Americans have been diagnosed with AIDS, and approximately 310,000 have died. In 1994, AIDS became the leading cause of death among all Americans aged 25 to 44. However, 1996 marked the first year that deaths from AIDS actually fell since the epidemic began in the early 1980s. This downward trend continued during the first half of 1997. AIDS deaths fell by 44 percent in comparison to the same period in 1996. Some experts attribute this decline in AIDS deaths to the widening use of "triple

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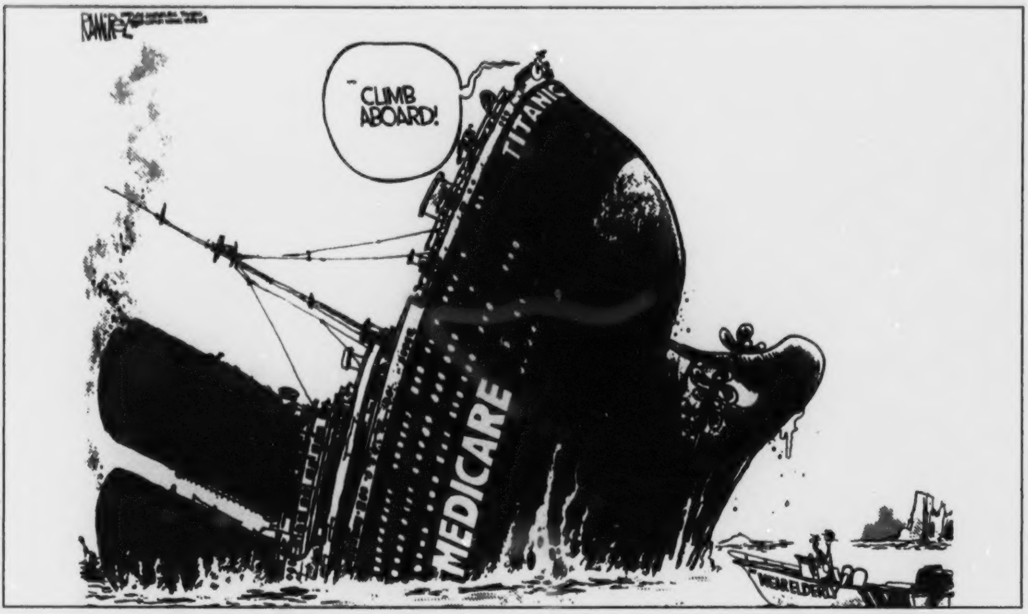
drug" or "cocktail" therapies to stop the virus from spreading. The number of people who were diagnosed with AIDS also fell for the first time in 1996.

While the disease has had its most devastating effects in the United States on the homosexual male population, recently the biggest increase in American AIDS cases has occurred among women. People primarily develop AIDS after contact with blood or other bodily fluids infected with HIV. The most common modes of transmission are unprotected sex and intravenous drug use with needles shared with others. Before health officials became aware of the AIDS threat, some people contracted the virus through transfusions of tainted donated blood. Since then, health providers have developed testing measures to make the blood supply safer and have set standards to prevent transmission between health care workers and patients. Some cities distribute free condoms, and other cities, such as New York, sponsor needle-exchange programs in which drug users can turn in used needles for clean ones.

Government Spending. Over the past two years, the federal government's role in the fight against AIDS has increased. Most of the federal funds earmarked for AIDS are spent on research to find a cure for or an immunization against the deadly disease. Some research money is used to test drugs to see if they are safe and effective for AIDS patients. The government spends most of the remaining funds on health care services for AIDS patients, as well as on education programs, television ads, and other public information campaigns.

CURRENT ISSUES

Expanding Medicare. Because Medicare affects older Americans, their families, hospitals, and health care professionals, these different groups have all followed the Medicare debate. In 1997, President Clinton and Congress agreed to cut Medicare funding by almost $120 billion over five years. One year later, however, the president expressed new concerns for a growing group of older Americans. About 3 million Americans between



Mike Ramirez/Copley News Service

the ages of 55 and 64 are uninsured. In 1998, he proposed expanding Medicare by offering benefits to some of the "near elderly": early retirees, at age 62, and displaced workers who are at least 55 years old. Some of these people would be able to buy Medicare health insurance under this new plan. Many people in this group are currently not able to afford health benefits.

Some lawmakers support the proposal because it could enable millions of uninsured Americans to receive health benefits. They believe that the increased costs of expansion would be covered by the premiums that the near elderly would pay. They argue that the program would pay for itself. The near elderly who are eligible would have to pay a monthly premium of $300 or $400, depending on their qualifications. Some point out that this group is twice as likely to have health problems as younger people. They believe that it is the government's job to provide health insurance for this vulnerable group—who cannot afford to wait until they turn 65 to receive benefits—so that they can continue to lead healthy lives.

Opponents of expanding Medicare argue that the program is already on the brink of bankruptcy and should therefore be trimmed. Critics contend that the cost of this expansion and the number of people that will participate are difficult to calculate. They also point out that baby boomers will soon be eligible for Medicare. Consequently, some worry that people will start retiring sooner if they become eligible for Medicare at an earlier age. Experts argue that the government should not encourage early retirement, because more retirees will further strain Medicare and Social Security.

Reforming the FDA. The Food and Drug Administration (FDA) is in charge of making sure that food, drugs, and cosmetics, as well as all medical devices, are safe for consumers and have truthful labeling. The FDA thoroughly tests all of these products, except food, before approving them. In 1992, Congress passed the Prescription Drug User-Fee Act, which required pharmaceutical companies to pay the fees that the FDA accrued hiring additional reviewers to test their products. This sped up the approval process greatly. In recent years, the number of new products up for FDA approval has grown. This is due in part to the demand for new drug therapies for life-threatening diseases such as AIDS. The FDA takes about a year to approve a new drug, a process many believe is too long and should be streamlined.

Supporters of streamlining argue that the FDA approval process is blocking people's access to new drug treatments. They point out that especially in the case of AIDS, people are suffering and dying during the time it takes the FDA to approve innovative new drugs. They maintain that because pharmaceutical companies are required to perform many tests on new products, the FDA does not need to carry out such a thorough review. Some experts also contend that FDA testing procedures are outdated and expensive. Finally, some believe that the FDA should give some of its work to outside researchers to speed up the approval process.

Opponents respond that speeding up the FDA approval process could lead to harmful products getting on the market. They argue that it is important for the FDA to ensure that all new drugs are safe and effective before they can be sold. Extensive testing is important

Office of Personnel Management

Scientists at the FDA test drugs and medical devices before they go on sale. The FDA takes almost a year to approve most drugs.

to look for any side effects a new drug treatment might have, or to make sure a new medical device is sound. Furthermore, many argue that outside researchers could be vulnerable to bias and bribes, and that impartial government testing is more fair. Lastly, some point out that the average time it takes the FDA to approve a new product is already declining, due in part to the passage of the Prescription Drug User-Fee Act.

Universal Health Coverage. Should the U.S. government provide health care for everyone? Many national leaders believe it should. They say that health care is not a product, like a car or a television, but a necessity, and that the government should ensure that everyone has access to adequate health care. In September 1993, President Clinton unveiled an ambitious health care reform proposal called the Health Security Act. The plan aimed to control rising health care costs, but its primary goal was to extend health care coverage to all Americans. The president declared that every American should be provided with "Health Security" that could never be taken away.

However, the Health Security Act failed to win support from Congress and the American public. Critics called it overly bureaucratic and said it imposed government control on the U.S. health care system. Despite the proposal's demise, most Americans believe that the country should continue to strive for universal health care coverage. Supporters of universal coverage point out that the United States and South Africa are the only industrialized nations that do not guarantee their citizens' health care.

Opponents of universal health care contend that the government cannot afford to provide the high quality of health care service to which many insured Americans are accustomed, and that in the case of some rare or elaborate procedures, services might even have to be rationed. They argue that any national insurance plan would inevitably lead to large and inefficient bureaucracies. In addition, many experts say that the health care system needs only to be reformed, not overhauled. They point out that almost 80 percent of the population already has hospital insurance, which they believe makes dramatic action on health care unnecessary. In addition, many experts argue that most universal coverage plans would hurt those Americans—the overwhelming majority—who receive quality care under the current system.

OUTLOOK

The debate over Medicaid and Medicare centers around the federal government's obligation to older, disabled, and low-income Americans. As baby boomers age, the size of the elderly population will grow rapidly. However, because Medicare consumes a huge portion of the federal budget and could go bankrupt in a few years, many Americans question to what extent the federal government can afford to continue to subsidize health care for these vulnerable Americans. While some Americans believe that the federal government is too involved in many aspects of ordinary life—including health care—others view the proposals not as a reform, but as a detrimental rewriting of the social contract with older and low-income Americans.

THE DEBATE: HEALTH CARE AND AGING

Medicare should be expanded.

PRO: There are millions of "near elderly" people who do not have health insurance. This is an especially vulnerable group, and the federal government needs to offer them affordable health benefits. Many cannot wait until they turn 65 to qualify for Medicare benefits. This expansion of Medicare would not cost taxpayers any money, because the participants would pay a large monthly premium.

CON: Medicare is on the verge of bankruptcy. The system needs to be trimmed, not expanded. Expansion is risky because it is difficult to calculate how much it will cost to include a new group of potential members. This could be especially expensive when the baby-boomer generation becomes eligible. The federal government should encourage people to retire later, not earlier, so that less money can be spent on the Social Security program.

The FDA's drug approval process should be reformed.

PRO: People with AIDS, cancer, and other life-threatening diseases need timely access to new, innovative drug treatments. Many are suffering during the time it takes the FDA to approve new drug therapies. Pharmaceutical companies have already tested products before they bring them to the FDA. If the FDA wants to further test drugs, they should use outside researchers to speed up the process.

CON: Putting new drugs on the market without carefully testing them poses a great threat to public health. The FDA must prove to its satisfaction that drugs are safe and effective before approving them for the markets. Outside researchers can not be relied upon, because pharmaceutical companies could influence them. Lastly, the FDA has already made progress in shortening the amount of time it takes to approve new drugs.

The federal government should provide universal health care coverage.

PRO: The United States is one of the few industrialized countries that does not guarantee health care for all its citizens. It is a national disgrace that people in the United States spend more on health care than do the residents of any other nation and yet about 41 million Americans do not have adequate health insurance. The nation needs a plan that will extend universal coverage and contain costs. Achieving that goal should be a top national priority for lawmakers.

CON: Guaranteeing health care coverage for all Americans is too expensive. Almost 80 percent of the population is now covered by insurance, and the people who are not would be best served by more competition in the health care industry. Proposed government plans are too complex and rely too much on government intervention. The United States should make smaller reforms to improve access to health care, without guaranteeing universal coverage.

IMMIGRATION

The United States was built by immigrants, many seeking a new life in a new land. Before 1882, anyone could move to the United States. But as the population grew, the federal government decided to control immigration. The first immigration laws limited the number of newcomers from certain countries—China, for example—so that the ethnic makeup of the United States would be preserved. In 1965, the government passed new laws that limited not only the number of immigrants from Europe, Asia, and Africa, but also, for the first time, immigrants from countries in the Western Hemisphere. In 1996, the United States admitted approximately 900,000 legal immigrants. However, immigration swelled by another 300,000 people who illegally crossed the borders of the United States.

KEY QUESTIONS

- Is legal immigration hurting the U.S. economy?
- Should the United States adopt English as its official language?
- Should the government deny social services to illegal immigrants?

Unlike previous waves of immigrants who dispersed more evenly throughout the country, the newcomers of the last thirty years have settled primarily in certain regions. Thus, in areas like the American Southwest, California, and Florida, recent immigrants—many of them Latinos—reside in greater percentages than in other places. As a result, some Americans perceive the country as being overwhelmed by immigrants (legal and illegal), and they have asked policymakers to create new laws that discourage immigration.

In 1996, Congress passed and President Bill Clinton signed into law three bills that have changed immigration control and immigrants' rights in the United States. The continuing controversy surrounding this legislation has made immigration one of the most divisive public policy issues of the decade.

BACKGROUND

U.S. Immigration Policy

Unlimited Immigration. The United States was founded and settled by immigrants. At first, the country was open to anyone wishing to make a new start. Many came to America to escape war, poverty, famine, or religious persecution. Others came seeking their fortune in a land where the streets were said to be paved with gold, a myth spread in Europe by some steamship companies seeking passengers. And some were brought against their will to work as slaves. These and other factors resulted in a large-scale influx of immigrants to the United States from around the world.

Quotas. The first immigration laws were aimed at nonwhites. In 1882, the Chinese Exclusion Act suspended immigration from China for sixty years. In 1907, President Theodore Roosevelt negotiated an informal "gentlemen's agreement" with Japan, under which the United States promised to desegregate

National Archives

From 1880 to 1920, more than 23 million immigrants—most of them from southern and eastern Europe—came to the United States seeking a new life. In 1910, the United States had its highest proportion of foreign-born people—14.7 percent. Here, a family from Italy arrives at Ellis Island in New York Harbor in the early twentieth century.

California schools, which had separated Japanese students from others. In return, the Japanese government promised to stop the emigration of its citizens. By 1900, however, Americans were complaining about European immigration as well.

During the first two decades of the twentieth century, immigrants from southern and eastern Europe crowded into U.S. cities. Some Americans viewed these newcomers as a threat to the rising standard of living because immigrants would work long hours for little pay. In addition, an anticommunist mood after World War I made some U.S. citizens suspicious of anyone who seemed "foreign." Many believed that these new immigrants were racially and culturally inferior to people of northern and western European descent who had come to America earlier. Some thought that the most recent European immigrants would be less able to learn English and be assimilated, or absorbed, into American culture. As a result, many U.S. citizens called for limits on further immigration.

Early immigration laws aimed to preserve the racial, religious, and ethnic composition of the United States at the time. A law passed by Congress in 1921 encouraged immigration from Germany, Great Britain, Ireland, and Scandinavia because natives of these lands seemed more likely to assimilate. Meanwhile, the law discouraged immigration from eastern and southern European countries such as Italy and Poland. In 1924, Congress passed another law that further restricted immigration from those two regions.

In response to popular prejudices of the time, Congress passed the National Origins Act in 1929, sharply limiting immigration by people of "less desirable" heritage. Of the annual quota of 150,000 immigrants, 70 percent were to come from Germany, Great Britain, Ireland, and the Scandinavian countries; the remaining 30 percent were limited to countries in southern and eastern Europe.

CITIZENSHIP REQUIREMENTS

To become a citizen of the United States, a person must be legally admitted to the country for permanent residence and must satisfy several requirements. One requirement is knowledge of U.S. history and government. Following are sample questions from the citizenship test.

- Who is the chief justice of the Supreme Court?
- Which countries were our principal allies during World War II?
- What is the Bill of Rights?
- Who said, "Give me liberty or give me death"?

McCarran-Walter Act of 1952. In 1952, Congress passed the McCarran-Walter Act, which revised the 1929 National Origins Act. People of all races would now be eligible for immigration into the United States. But McCarran-Walter further tightened controls over aliens and immigrants by adding ideology to nationality as a criterion for admission to the United States. Passed partly because of the "Red scare" of the 1950s, the act sought to weed out people with even marginal communist backgrounds or sympathies.

The McCarran-Walter Act was overturned in 1990, when Congress made it illegal for the U.S. government to deny anyone entry into the country on the basis of beliefs, statements, or associations. However, the secretary of state can still exclude people for ideological reasons if the government has a "compelling" foreign policy interest in keeping them out. For example, terrorists and others who threaten national security can be denied entry.

Immigration Act of 1965. The 1965 Immigration Act represented a major reform of all previous immigration laws. It abolished quotas that discriminated against nationalities, substituting an overall limit of 170,000 immigrants from the Eastern Hemisphere. But the 1965 act also limited immigration from Western Hemisphere countries for the first time to 120,000 annually. This law touched off a serious illegal immigrant problem. For Latin Americans, the United States had long been a haven from the poverty and civil war of their homelands. Before 1965, thousands of jobs requiring low-wage labor had been filled by Mexicans and Central Americans who needed only to apply for temporary or permanent visas to be admitted legally.

Immigration quotas still allow some Latin Americans to enter the United States legally. But since the 1965 limitations were put in place, many have come illegally, working in low-paying, unskilled jobs such as harvesting crops or cleaning office and apartment buildings.

Some say that Americans exploit illegal aliens. Because they lack legal status, illegal immigrants are often paid salaries below minimum wage. For years, they have been reluctant to complain about low wages or harsh working conditions because they feared that they would be fired or that their actions would be reported to immigration officials and they would be deported. But even when they earn below-minimum wages, hard-working illegal aliens have often prospered in the United States, earning much more than they could in their homelands.

Refugee Act of 1980. Before 1980, only a special act of Congress could admit groups of refugees—most often individuals fleeing communism. For example, in 1976, Congress passed special laws to admit 565,000 refugees who fled Southeast Asia after South Vietnam came under communist control. However, in 1980, lawmakers made a major change in immigration policy by passing the Refugee Act.

The Refugee Act of 1980 legally defined a refugee as someone who flees a country because of persecution "on account of race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group, or political opinion." The act authorizes the president, in consultation with Congress, to establish an annual ceiling on the number of refugees who may enter the United States. The act also allows the president to admit any group of refugees in an emergency. President Bill Clinton proposed that the number of refugees admitted in 1998 be limited to 78,000. From 1990 to 1995, the average ceiling was 127,000.

REFUGEE POLICY AND HUMAN RIGHTS

During the 1990s, the number of refugees admitted annually has decreased. Policymakers say that this reduction is logical because the government accepts fewer Vietnam War–related refugees and because they have fewer applicants from the former Soviet Union. However, many human rights groups argue that the United States should not reduce the refugee ceiling because humanitarian values, regional peace, and world leadership are at stake. They point to regional conflicts in Rwanda and Bosnia, situations that have created a global increase in refugees.

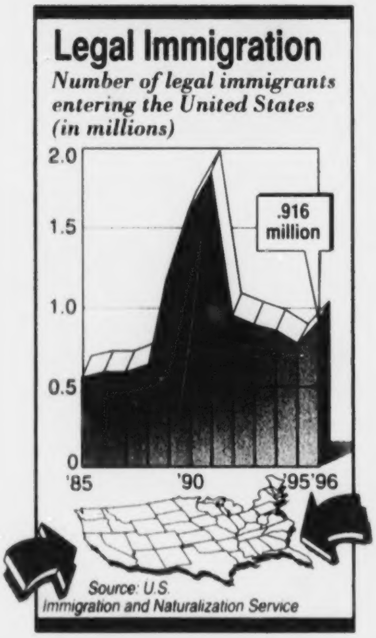
Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986. The Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986 was designed to stop the flow of illegal immigration from Latin America by imposing sanctions against U.S. employers who hire illegal aliens. At the same time, the law gave illegal aliens who had been living in the United States since 1982 the opportunity to become legal citizens. As a result of the amnesty program, legal immigration increased sharply between 1989 and 1992.

Immigration Act of 1990. The Immigration Act of 1990 increased the number of immigrants allowed to enter the United States by nearly 30 percent. From 1992 to 1994, the United States opened its doors to about 700,000 legal immigrants a year, an increase from the previous limit of 540,000. The law also increased the number of visas for skilled immigrants, such as engineers and scientists.

Immigration Today

Backlash Against Newcomers. In 1996, more than 900,000 legal immigrants and an estimated 300,000 illegal immigrants settled in the United States. Overall, the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) estimates that about 5 million illegal immigrants currently reside in the United States. Consequently, the presence of both legal and illegal immigrants has contributed to dramatic changes in the racial, ethnic, and cultural composition of the United States. In 1997, the Census Bureau reported that almost one in ten U.S. residents is foreign-born, the greatest proportion since the 1930s.

Many Americans believe that their country cannot absorb more immigrants. They contend that newcomers take jobs away from Americans—particularly low-skilled workers—because they enlarge the labor pool and are willing to work for lower wages. In addition, advocates of immigration restrictions point to the large cost to taxpayers for health and education benefits for illegal immigrants.



Source: U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service

Many citizens debate how many immigrants should be allowed to enter the United States.

Critics of restrictions argue that immigrants are important. They turn around the job argument, asserting that immigrants accept low-skill, low-wage jobs that many native-born Americans will not. Moreover,

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these critics say, immigrants come to the United States with a diligent work ethic that increases the country's productivity and helps the economy. They also point out an undercurrent of racism in many of the comments of those in favor of restriction.

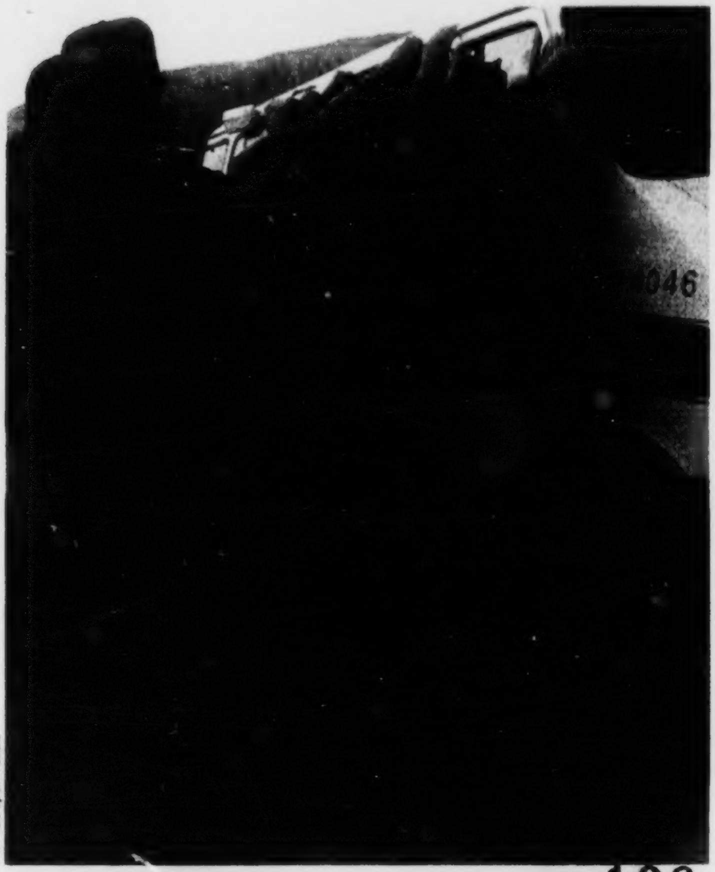
A National Identity? Some people argue that restrictions on immigration are necessary to maintain what they see as the national identity of the United States. The great increase in arrivals from developing countries, especially those in Latin America and Asia, has brought dramatic changes to some parts of the United States, notably in California, Florida, and New York. In these states as well as in communities in the Southwest, Spanish is the language most commonly spoken by immigrants.

Many Americans believe that a common language binds people together in a society. They fear that a bilingual society will splinter the country along cultural and racial lines. However, others think that English-only arguments are racist and may prevent people from voting or participating in other American democratic traditions.

Proposition 187. About 40 percent of all illegal immigrants in the United States live in California, straining the state's budget and the tolerance of other residents. Generally, illegal immigrants are not eligible for welfare grants such as unemployment or Social Security. However, children and parents in need are entitled to some services. Officials in California say that supporting that population costs the state $3 billion annually.

In November 1994, voters in California approved the "Save Our State" amendment, better known as Proposition 187. That law would deny illegal aliens all public social services, public nonemergency health care based on financial need, and public education. Proposition 187 was immediately challenged in court by civil rights and immigrant advocacy groups. In late 1997 a federal court struck down the law, but California planned to appeal. Some experts predict that the legality of the amendment would eventually be decided by the U.S. Supreme Court.

Recent Federal Legislation. Heated criticism of U.S. immigration policy has resulted in new laws at the federal level as well. In 1996, the 104th Congress passed and President Clinton signed into law three controversial bills pertaining to immigration. Legal experts predict that the courts will have to rule on many of the new provisions because they challenge previous court rulings on the rights of immigrants. While some people think these measures will discourage people from coming to the United States, critics contend that the legislation does not address the real reasons people immigrate—poverty in their home countries and job opportunities in the United States.



INS Photo by Bill Powers

The number of border patrol agents in the Southwest has increased from 4,000 in 1993 to 7,000 in 1997. Shown here are Immigration and Naturalization Service agents arresting illegal immigrants near San Diego, California.

THE ECONOMICS OF IMMIGRATION

Current immigration policies attract more unskilled than skilled workers, a policy that benefits some Americans and harms others. Unskilled workers in the United States have trouble finding jobs and their wages are lower; at the same time, companies benefit. Simultaneously, consumers benefit from cheaper goods and services, while also bearing the tax burden of supporting immigrants who use social services. Some economists argue that immigration policies should instead favor skilled workers, because such workers would pay more in taxes and be less likely to rely on welfare. They also suggest basing immigration policy on the business cycle—admitting more people when the economy is strong and fewer when unemployment is high.

1996 Anti-Terrorism Act. One provision in the Anti-Terrorism Act hastened the procedures for deporting immigrants with criminal records. It also expanded the number of crimes punishable by detention and deportation. In fiscal year 1997, the Immigration and Naturalization Service deported about 50,000 aliens convicted of crimes, a major increase over previous years. However, officials point out that many deportees illegally return to the United States.

Welfare Overhaul. In August 1996, President Clinton signed a sweeping new welfare reform bill. This legislation made illegal immigrants ineligible for virtually all federal and state benefits except emergency medical care, immunization programs, and disaster relief. It also denied legal immigrants food stamps and Supplemental Security Income (SSI)—a program for older, blind, and disabled people. Controversy erupted in 1997 as many of these provisions went into effect. In response, Congress amended the law, dropping the provision that denied SSI benefits for legal aliens. Meanwhile, many local government officials protested new mandates calling on them to determine a welfare recipient's immigration status and report illegal immigrants to the INS.

1996 Immigration Act. The complex Immigration Act of 1996 is the most extensive immigration legislation passed by Congress in a decade. The new law doubled the border patrol force to 10,000 agents over five years and added fences in the most heavily trafficked areas of the U.S.-Mexico border.

Like the welfare reform law, provisions of the 1996 Immigration Act stirred controversy. For example, the law granted sweeping powers to immigration agents, allowing them to make on-the-spot expulsions of noncitizens. In one case, a British subject working in the United States was denied reentry after a vacation. Through an error by his company's lawyers, his work visa had expired. Without granting him a hearing, INS officials barred him from entering the United States for five years. It took several months and $20,000 in lawyers' fees and airfares to rectify the problem. Many legal experts challenge the powers granted to INS agents on the grounds that immigrants are entitled to hearings.

CURRENT ISSUES

Immigrants and the U.S. Economy. While hundreds of thousands of legal immigrants are living and working in the United States, many people wonder if legal immigration is good for the American economy. Some Americans want to further restrict legal immigration. Some even advocate a temporary moratorium, or stop, on all legal immigration. They believe the United States needs to assimilate the immigrants already here before admitting the next wave.

Proponents of placing more restrictions on legal immigration question whether the United States needs to admit more than 900,000 people annually. Although supporters of tighter restrictions acknowledge that the United States depended upon immigrant labor during the Industrial Revolution, they say no labor shortage exists now. On the contrary, proponents argue, skilled immigrants are taking jobs away from qualified American citizens. Moreover, supporters contend that the country no longer needs to populate its wilderness, as it did in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

In fact, many Americans believe that the current population of the United States already strains the country's natural resources and environment.

Those who oppose further restrictions think that highly skilled legal immigrants help the economy. Many members of the business community say that they cannot find enough multilingual and technically trained American workers to help keep the United States competitive in the global economy. Therefore, American companies recruit immigrants to fill this void. Critics of tighter restrictions argue that legal immigrants have provided U.S. firms with specialized job skills and have thereby helped these industries grow. Thus, legal immigrants have helped strengthen the economy and improve the U.S. standard of living. Finally, many experts point out that more immigrants means more consumers of American goods and services, further helping the economy.

English Only? As the number of immigrants from Latin America and Asia has increased, many Americans have felt the presence of another culture in their community. Although many citizens appreciate the vitality and diversity that new cultures bring, some believe their own identity is threatened. For example, in 1995, many people were disturbed to see some recent immigrants taking the U.S. naturalization pledge in

MISA CATOLICA
está cerca ...
AQUI MISMO
WALLACE
IGLESIA 506 E MAIN (NC 41)
SAB. 6:30 PM
todos los sábados
BEULAVILLE
LAVANDERIA CERCA DE IGA
DOM. 8:30 AM
10 de 17 ago
CHINQUAPIN
VARIOS LUGARES
SAB. 8:45 PM
ESTE SABADO: 9 de agosto - PARQUEADERO

Immigrants from Latin America have brought dramatic changes to many areas of the United States. In communities with large Latino populations, signs written in Spanish, such as this advertisement for a Catholic mass, are common.

AP Photo/Karen Tam

Spanish rather than English. Responding to their concern, some members of Congress advocated that the United States make English its official language.

Supporters of adopting English as the official U.S. language believe that English unifies the nation, and that non-English-speaking immigrants are isolated because they cannot talk with most Americans. Making English the official language would encourage immigrants to learn it. Many people, including some recent immigrants, think that the government wastes taxpayers' money by printing tax forms, laws, and court proceedings in other languages. Some English-only proponents believe that the U.S. government should focus on teaching English to immigrants so they can find jobs and assimilate into American society. Otherwise, they caution, immigrants may not be able to find jobs and will be forced to rely on expensive government social service programs.

Other Americans believe that making English the official language of the United States would fundamentally exclude some people from voting, understanding U.S. laws, or participating in America's judicial system. These opponents of the English-only movement argue that the movement is fueled by a fear of immigrants, not economic reasons. Critics point out that not only have immigrants assimilated into the United States throughout its history without being obligated to speak English, but they have made many social, political, and economic contributions to U.S. society along the way.

Denying Benefits to Illegal Immigrants. Though new laws have been passed since California's Proposition 187, the debate over the rights of immigrants to receive social benefits continues. Many taxpayers in states with large numbers of illegal immigrants express outrage at the spiraling cost of social programs. Many Americans believe that the government, by providing free services to undocumented immigrants, is unintentionally encouraging people to enter the United States illegally. People who want to deny social services to illegal immigrants argue that would-be illegal aliens would think twice before crossing the border once they realized that they would not get free medical care and education in the United States.

Although most Americans agree that illegal immigration is a problem, many oppose denying social services to undocumented aliens and their children. They think such laws will not discourage illegal immigration because foreigners come to the United States primarily to work, not to collect social benefits. Opponents point to studies indicating that illegal immigrants rely on social benefits in the same proportions as other Americans. They argue that preventing immigrants from receiving medical care and education services will result in an unhealthy, uneducated underclass. Many critics believe that the government should instead focus its anti–illegal immigration policies on controlling the U.S.-Mexican border.

OUTLOOK

As more and more people of different races and cultures enter the United States and the racial composition of the country changes, immigration becomes a more intensely debated issue. Some U.S. citizens favor tighter immigration restrictions and argue that immigrants take jobs away from Americans, resist learning English, and drain social services. Others, however, point to America's historical commitment to immigration and believe that immigrants keep the nation economically competitive, strong, and culturally rich. The question of whether to close America's doors will continue to be debated in the courts, in Congress, and in communities where immigrants tend to settle.

THE DEBATE: IMMIGRATION

Legal immigration is hurting the U.S. economy.

PRO: Legal immigration by highly skilled people takes away jobs from qualified American citizens. Although this country relied upon immigrant labor during the Industrial Revolution, there is no labor shortage in the United States now. Consequently, the influx of immigrants results in higher unemployment for U.S. citizens and strains the economy.

CON: Legal immigrants help the U.S. economy. To be competitive in the global marketplace, America's companies require multilingual and technically skilled employees. There are too few qualified American workers for these positions. Additionally, legal immigrants consume American goods and services, and thereby strengthen the U.S. economy.

The United States should adopt English as its official language.

PRO: A common language unifies a country. Adopting English as the official U.S. language would help immigrants assimilate more quickly. Furthermore, success in America requires proficiency in English. Otherwise, immigrants risk self-segregation, reduced job prospects, and reliance on costly social services. Besides, making English the official language would not bar people from speaking their native language in many settings.

CON: Establishing English as America's official language would send a signal to immigrants that their culture and heritage are not welcome in the United States. Immigrants from diverse backgrounds give the United States many economic, social, and political strengths. Printing all government forms in English would make it harder for many immigrants to participate in American democracy. Racism and fear drive the English-only movement.

The government should deny social services to illegal immigrants.

PRO: Many people enter the United States illegally because they know they will receive free medical care and education. Immigrants' demands for social services place an unfair burden on U.S. taxpayers. The government should not encourage the entry of aliens who drain social services and take jobs away from American citizens. By denying benefits, the government would remove these incentives and reduce illegal immigration.

CON: People come to the United States to work, not to sap public benefits. Besides, taking away services from illegal immigrants would create an underclass of uneducated and unhealthy people. Educating the children of illegal immigrants would help turn them into productive Americans. The burden of undocumented immigrants on states has been exaggerated by people who are motivated more by racism than by fiscal concerns.

THE MEDIA

Freedom of the press is an essential part of democracy. Newspapers, television news programs, and radio talk shows have the important role of keeping citizens apprised on domestic and world events. The news media have been called the watchdogs of democracy, because journalists keep an eye on the government for the people. The ability of journalists to write and broadcast without fear of government retribution is a cornerstone of freedom in America.

In 1963, Philip Graham, publisher of *The Washington Post,* said, "Journalism is the first rough draft of history." For hundreds of years, the news media have reported the nation's and the world's high and low moments. In the 1800s, newspaper editors focused attention on the horrors of slavery. Many Americans followed the course of World War II by listening to the radio. In the 1960s, television reporters brought the grisly images of the Vietnam War into America's living rooms. In 1969, 500 million people witnessed, via radio and television, the first man walking on the moon. Two journalists uncovered the Watergate scandal in 1972 and 1973 that toppled Richard Nixon's presidency.

KEY QUESTIONS

- Do the "new media" harm the political process?
- Should television cameras be allowed in courtrooms?
- Should television stations give free airtime to political candidates?

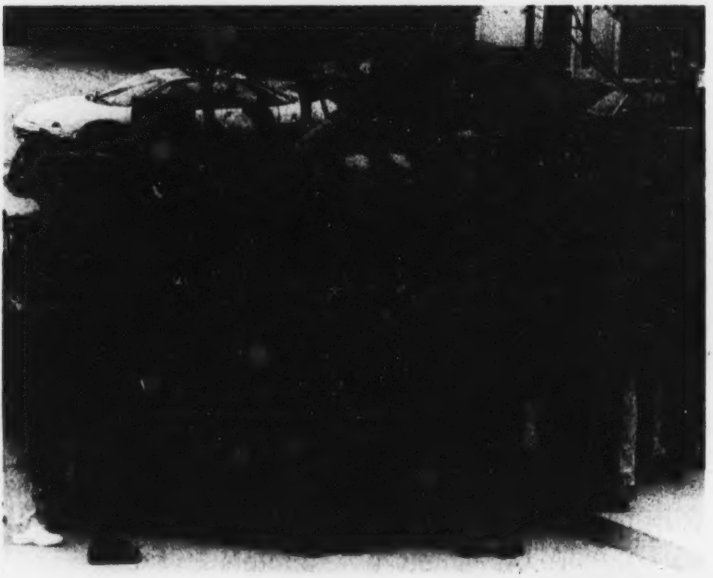
The 1990s have witnessed the emergence of new technologies that have revolutionized how news is gathered and received by the public. Many Americans, for example, now rely on the Internet for news. For news consumers, this interactive medium provides a much different experience than reading newspapers or listening to the radio. What will be the effect of new information technologies? Some experts think that the government will be more responsive to the people as news and opinions are exchanged faster. Others argue that recent trends in the news media may do more harm than good to the democratic process.

BACKGROUND

Shaping the First Amendment

Early Challenges to a Free Press. Before the Bill of Rights was ratified in 1791, freedom of speech and freedom of the press were not protected by law. In fact, before the Revolutionary War, the British government tightly controlled the newspapers in the American colonies. Criticism of the monarchy was a crime carrying the possible punishment of death. In 1735, John Peter Zenger was accused of committing "seditious libel," the crime of speaking out against the government, for publishing articles criticizing an English governor in his paper the *New York Weekly Journal*. Although freedom of the press was not legally guaranteed, Zenger's attorney argued that "speaking and writing truth" was a valid defense. An American jury acquitted Zenger.

Thomas Jefferson, a vocal proponent of freedom of the press, once said, "Were it left to me to decide whether we should have a government without newspapers or newspapers without a government, I should not hesitate a moment to prefer the latter." However, even after the adoption of the Constitution, the American government



Reuters/Jim Bourg/Archive Photos

Journalists compete to get firsthand information for a story. Some media experts think that the pressure to report events faster has led to inaccurate news stories. Others argue that the majority of reports in the newspaper and on television are fair and accurate.

enacted sedition laws in 1798 and 1918. Writings that criticized the United States, Congress, or the president were criminal acts, and thousands of Americans were punished for exercising their right to freedom of the press. These laws eventually expired.

The First Amendment. At the Constitutional Convention in 1787, Thomas Jefferson, Samuel Adams, and others argued that the people needed a bill of rights that listed individual freedoms and placed limitations on government power. Many state leaders also wanted to make sure that people would be free from tyranny in the new nation. With the states' approval and ratification, the Bill of Rights became part of the Constitution in 1791. The First Amendment guarantees people's right to freedom of speech and the press:

> *Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances.*

The First Amendment established the press's right to criticize the government and political leaders, as well as the right to report on controversial topics, without fear of punishment under most circumstances.

Freedom of the Press vs. National Security. Wars and other events that have national security implications for the United States often test the boundaries of the First Amendment. When the nation was at war, the government often placed limitations on the press, arguing that making public certain details—such as military strategies—might risk both American lives and U.S. national security. Others believe that it is unconstitutional to suspend First Amendment rights, even during emergencies.

The Vietnam War. During the Vietnam War in the 1960s and early 1970s, journalists had wide access to military operations and covered many battles. Reporters accompanied U.S. soldiers on "search and destroy" missions and broadcast many other events for viewers to watch on television at home. The images of villages burning and American soldiers dying became firmly entrenched in the public's mind. By the late 1960s, many citizens had begun to question their nation's role in Vietnam—a skepticism that many believe was generated in large part by the media's coverage.

The Pentagon Papers. Controversies about the influence of the press on the Vietnam War continued into the 1970s. In 1971, *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post* published top-secret documents, obtained by a former Defense Department employee, detailing government actions during the war. The newspapers printed excerpts of the documents, which soon became known as the "Pentagon Papers." President Richard Nixon was outraged and obtained a court order preventing any further publication of the documents, arguing that such action was a national security risk. This was the first time in American history that the federal government had censored a work before it was published (in its entirety).

However, the *Post* and the *Times* appealed to the Supreme Court. In *New York Times v. United States* (1971), the Court ruled that the government had not proven that publishing the Pentagon Papers would jeopardize national security and overturned the order, allowing publication to resume.

The Persian Gulf War. Twenty years later, in 1991, the U.S. government cited national security as the reason for restricting news media coverage of the Persian Gulf War in Iraq. The Pentagon regulated the movements of journalists by giving only the "press pool" (a small group of reporters) limited access to military operations and other information. The pool reporters were always escorted by military personnel and were supposed to share their findings with those journalists who were not allowed on-site access. In addition, ten

CAN A NEWSPAPER START A WAR?

In 1898, Cuba was fighting Spain for independence. The U.S. military stationed a battleship, the *Maine*, in Havana harbor to protect American citizens in Cuba. The battleship exploded, killing hundreds of U.S. sailors. The *New York Journal*—owned by media magnate William Randolph Hearst—published drawings of the battleship exploding and offered "proof" that a Spanish submarine blew it up. The *Journal* was accused of encouraging American zeal for war with Spain. The United States entered and quickly won the Spanish-American War. Most historians think that the explosion of the battleship was probably an accident.

categories of information were deemed "not releasable." Some of this information was sensitive, such as the number of troops and aircraft stationed in the Gulf, but journalists also were forbidden to disclose the names or hometowns of most soldiers they interviewed. Many constitutional scholars believe that the military is not justified in restricting the media by using press pools. Others, however, respond that the press does not have a right to full access to U.S. military information.

Television and Politics

In 1941, television broadcasting began in the United States. By 1949, there were more than 100 television stations and two regular news programs (each fifteen minutes long) on NBC and CBS. By 1955, 35 million American homes had televisions. The new medium of television was becoming more powerful than radio. This fact did not escape politicians, who saw television as a potentially powerful weapon in their election campaigns.

Television and Presidential Elections. Whether they were running for mayor, Congress, governor, or pres-

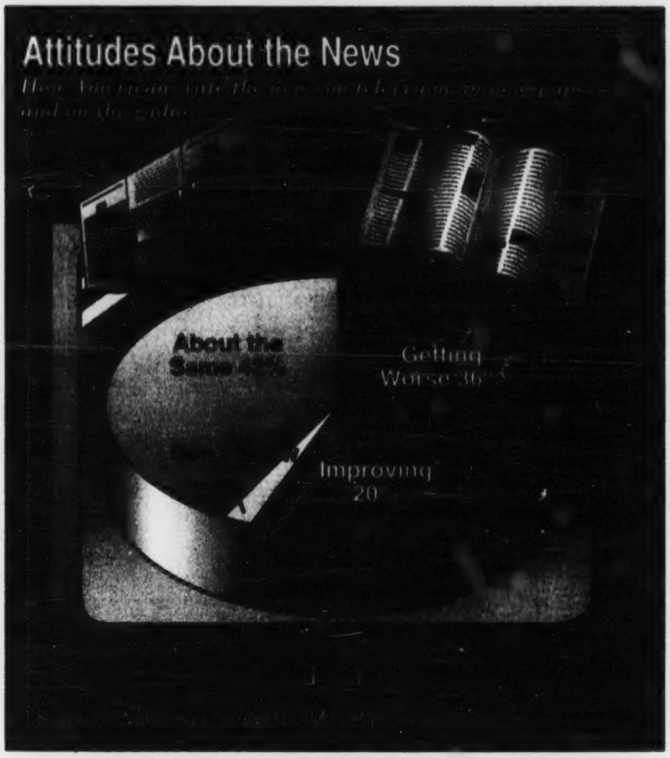
UPI/Bettmann

John Kennedy and Richard Nixon participated in the first-ever televised debate between presidential candidates. Kennedy's performance helped him win the election.

ident of the United States, politicians had to be comfortable in front of a television camera to get their message into American homes. Television's role in choosing the president has been particularly significant. Some critics contend that television reporting on presidential campaigns has led to an emphasis on style over substance. Others argue that television coverage has informed people better about the issues.

The Kennedy/Nixon Debate. The 1960 presidential election was the closest in history; Senator John Kennedy defeated Vice President Richard Nixon by less than 100,000 votes of the 70 million cast. Although historians disagree over what gave Kennedy his razor-thin margin of victory, few can doubt the significance of the televised debate. On September 16, 1960, Kennedy and Nixon met in a television studio in Chicago for the first-ever televised presidential debate. That night more than 70 million Americans watched the two candidates discuss their opinions on foreign and domestic policy. On camera, Kennedy looked youthful and well rested. Nixon, however, was recovering from an illness and seemed tired and a little haggard. Afterwards, public opinion polls of television viewers declared Kennedy the "winner"; those who listened on the radio, however, thought that Nixon came out ahead. After the election, Kennedy told a friend, "It was TV that turned the tide."

Bill Clinton on MTV. In 1992, Governor Bill Clinton of Arkansas appeared on television programs that were not typical for presidential candidates. Facing accusations about his personal life, Clinton, with his wife Hillary, was asked about his marriage in a special thirteen-minute interview on *60 Minutes* following the Super Bowl in January 1992. Governor Clinton later donned a pair of sunglasses and played the saxophone on the *Arsenio Hall Show* to appeal to younger audiences. He also appeared on MTV to take questions from young citizens. Most political analysts agree that Clinton's television appearances improved his image with the American public and helped him win the presidency.



According to some opinion polls, many Americans are concerned about the quality of news coverage.

The Influence of the "New Media"

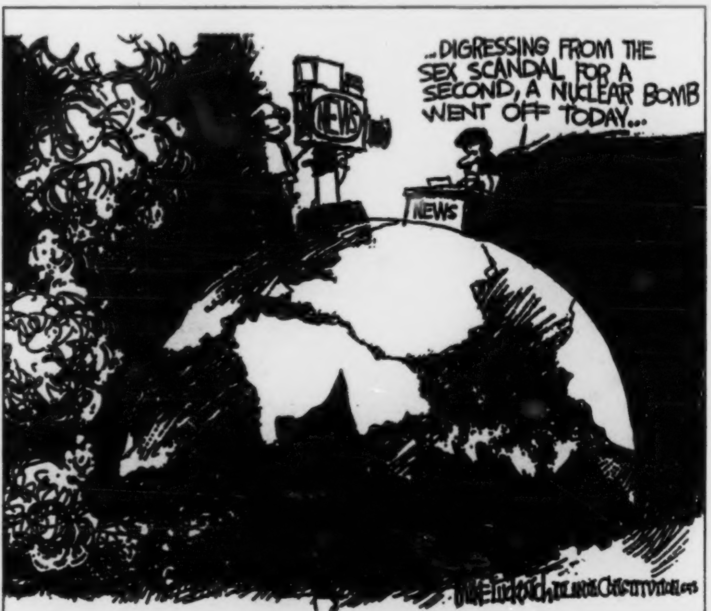
Over the past few decades, radio and television have had a tremendous impact on the dissemination of news and information. Advances in technology have created new ways of transmitting news. Experts have dubbed the new telecommunications technologies—cable television, interactive television, electronic mail, and the Internet—the "new media." Some think that the new media have given citizens a greater voice in the government that has in turn encouraged elected leaders to be more responsive to the public.

News Everywhere. In 1980, the Cable News Network (CNN) became the first twenty-four-hour television news channel. CNN helped bring about the notion of a global village, where people in different countries could witness events around the world "live" on television and communicate instantly via electronic mail or facsimile. Since 1996, two other twenty-four-hour cable news channels, MSNBC and the FOX news network, have gone on the air.

Newspapers and radio programs have changed as well, offering the public more information in new formats. For example, since 1982 *USA Today* has offered readers "news at a glance" in an easy to read, colorful format. Many news consumers also rely on talk radio personalities such as Rush Limbaugh, Diane Rehm, Don Imus, and Oliver North to offer opinions and information about current events.

The Internet. The Internet has become a major news source for many Americans. Internet users can scan different Web sites in which newspaper articles, important speeches, interviews, and key pieces of legislation can be accessed. In recent years, news organizations and technology companies have raced to put information on the Internet—available almost instantly to millions of "plugged in" computer users. Currently, about 40 million people around the world get news on the Internet.

Public Trust of the Media. Today, the public can get news and information from an abundance of media sources. However, many people question whether much of what they are reading and seeing is reliable. They worry that reporters are not using credible sources or checking their facts. Some people think that news conglomerates—companies that own more than one newspaper, magazine, or television station—are more concerned about generating profits than providing legitimate, accurate news coverage. Some media experts are apprehensive about the


..DIGRESSING FROM THE SEX SCANDAL FOR A SECOND, A NUCLEAR BOMB WENT OFF TODAY...
NEWS
NEWS

By permission of Mike Luckovich and Creators Syndicate media's preoccupation with sensationalist topics. They argue that the press over the last couple of years has become engrossed in stories such as the death of Princess Diana, the O. J. Simpson murder trial, and the scandals surrounding President Clinton—all at the expense of hard news. Critics claim that mainstream papers are becoming more like tabloids and that as a result, the public is not being kept up to date on events and issues that really make a difference in their lives. Overall, the news media have lost a lot of the trust they once had with the American public.

Some observers believe that one way to address the public's cynicism of the press would be to create a national news council, composed of journalists, to monitor the coverage of people and events. Others think that the United States should follow Great Britain's and Canada's lead and set up press councils, where people can voice their grievances about the news industry. Some journalists support these ideas because these bodies would be self-regulating and prevent government interference in the workings of the press. However, others say that criticism of the press has gotten out of hand. They contend that journalists are for the most part committed professionals who provide a valuable public service.

WATERGATE

In June 1972, two *Washington Post* reporters, Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein, began covering a story that would lead to the resignation of President Richard Nixon. Woodward and Bernstein discovered that a break-in at the Watergate office complex was part of an illegal White House plan to spy on and sabotage political opponents of President Nixon. The Nixon administration's effort to obstruct justice led to the indictments of about forty government officials and the resignation of the president. Woodward and Bernstein won a Pulitzer Prize, print journalism's highest award, for their reporting.

CURRENT ISSUES

The New Media and the Political Process. While new information technologies—especially the Internet—have made it possible for news consumers to get "news on demand," they have also increased the competition between journalists to report news faster so that people can be informed of important events as soon as they happen. Some experts think that the new media have made the spotlight of public life even harsher for some political candidates and government officials. In addition, critics

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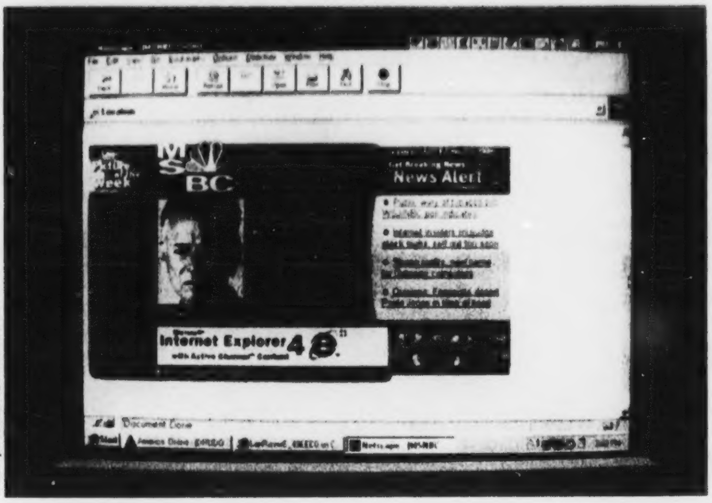


Close Up Foundation/Renée Bouchard

Some people rely on the Internet as their primary source of news. Many networks and newspapers have Internet sites.

believe that the emergence of electronic news sources has led to careless and unethical reporting and given prominence to tabloid journalism.

Critics of the new media believe that the pressure to get stories out faster on the Internet and television has left little time for fact checking and has resulted in less accurate reporting overall. For example, Internet reporter Matt Drudge has said that his stories in the *Drudge Report* are "80 percent accurate" and some are backed by no evidence at all. In January 1998, many people first heard about the scandal involving alleged improprieties by President Clinton from the *Drudge Report*. Even though many facts had not been confirmed, other news organizations picked up the story and it became one of the biggest news items of the year. Some experts argue that many Internet news sites have no system for ensuring quality and accuracy. They warn that people are being misinformed, and as a result political careers could be ruined.

While most concede that the new media have drawbacks, many experts believe that these advanced technologies have had an overall positive effect on journalism and the political process. They point out that it is essential for citizens in a democracy to be apprised of important events at all times. The Internet and twenty-four-hour news channels help educate voters and give them greater access to their elected leaders. Consequently,

COLLEGE RAPE TRIAL
Judge has ordered alleged
victim's face not be show

Many television viewers enjoy watching court proceedings on "Court TV." While some experts think that these televised trials are educational, others argue that cameras can create a circus-like atmosphere in the courtroom.

Close Up Foundation/Renée Bouchard

government officials are becoming more responsive to the concerns of citizens.

Cameras in the Courtroom. Trials are commonly big news stories, especially when they involve a celebrity. News organizations often want to record courtroom proceedings with their television cameras. Today, forty-eight states allow camera coverage of court proceedings—with the judge's permission and subject to restrictions. However, some experts think that television cameras can disrupt court proceedings and infringe on the Sixth Amendment right to a fair trial. The massive television coverage surrounding the O. J. Simpson double-murder criminal trial in 1995 highlighted the benefits and drawbacks of having cameras in the courtroom. In 1996, the federal judge in the trial of Oklahoma City bomber Timothy McVeigh was forced by Congress to allow survivors of the bombing and victim's families to watch the proceedings on special-access televisions set up outside the courtroom. The trial was not otherwise televised.

Proponents of allowing cameras in the courtroom think that the public has a right to know how the legal process works and how trials are conducted. Some experts think that the public can learn a great deal about the judicial process by watching court cases on television. In addition, they say that televising large portions of controversial trials can help viewers make up their own minds about a case instead of relying on journalists to interpret the proceedings and verdicts. Some contend that barring cameras from the courtroom is a violation of freedom of the press.

Critics argue that the presence of television cameras in the court violates the defendant's Sixth Amendment right to a fair trial. Although the Sixth Amendment guarantees the right to a "public trial," opponents contend that cameras are intrusive and that the media can create a chaotic atmosphere in the courtroom. They argue that courtroom proceedings should be private affairs, not public spectacles. For example, lawyers and even judges might act differently in front of a camera, as if they were performing in a television show, not conducting a trial. In addition, televising courtroom proceedings can violate the privacy of witnesses, making them vulnerable to harassment and unwanted media attention.

Free Airtime for Candidates. Political campaigns for Congress and the presidency are extremely expensive. Some Senate races, for example, can cost $50 million. During the 1996 presidential campaign, Bill Clinton and Bob Dole each spent more than $100 million. A major reason for the huge cost is buying time on television. If candidates have a lot of money at their disposal, they can buy television commercials and get their message out to more people. Candidates with little name recognition and limited funds, however, cannot compete effectively because they are unable to buy time on the airwaves. The end result, experts say, is that voters are not being given a real choice on election day.

To create a more level playing field, many political leaders and journalists are trying to convince television stations to offer free airtime to candidates. One proposal is to give candidates two to five minutes each night during prime time starting a month before the

FREEDOM OF THE PRESS AND STUDENT NEWSPAPERS

The U.S. Supreme Court has ruled that students have First Amendment rights. However, the Court has also said that high school newspapers do not enjoy the same freedom of the press as professional newspapers. In the case of *Hazelwood School District v. Kuhlmeier* (1988), the Supreme Court held that teachers and principals can exercise editorial control over school-sponsored publications. Some people argue that this ruling allows government censorship, but others believe that because schools own and operate student newspapers, school officials are more like editors at professional newspapers.

election. They would be able to speak to people one-on-one, without journalists asking questions.

Supporters of granting free airtime think that giving candidates more direct access to voters would benefit the political process. Some experts note that free airtime would help candidates with less money get their message to more voters. They also argue that viewers would be more engaged in the election if candidates could address them with meaningful, uninterrupted speeches. Some think that this forum would encourage candidates to offer meaningful thoughts on the issues instead of only sound bites or attacks on their opponent.

Critics, on the other hand, argue that there are already many media sources that voters can use to educate themselves about the candidates and the issues. Some point out that offering free airtime is unnecessary because many television stations already offer public-affairs shows that candidates can participate in. Critics also warn that candidates might not use free airtime to offer meaningful speeches but instead attack their opponent. In addition, some television executives note that giving free airtime would cost them millions of dollars in advertising revenue.

OUTLOOK

Because of the tremendous power it wields, the press has often been called the "fourth branch" of government. The media can influence whether a bill is passed, if U.S. troops go to war, and which presidential candidate is elected. Some argue that in fact the news media have *too* much power and often use it irresponsibly. Others respond that the press, for all its faults, promotes democracy by keeping citizens informed, searching for the truth, and exposing corruption and scandals. New technologies have revolutionized news gathering, a trend that many believe is giving citizens a greater voice in government and enhancing the news media's role as the watchdogs of democracy.

THE DEBATE: THE MEDIA

The "new media" have harmed the political process.

PRO: New information technologies have created a public demand for immediate coverage of events. There is a great deal of competition among journalists to get news stories out quickly. Consequently, many news sources are providing information that is inaccurate because they have not taken the time to confirm all the facts. Such stories misinform the public, increase cynicism toward the media, and can ruin the lives of people who live in the public spotlight.

CON: The new media have made "news on demand" a reality. In this fast-paced world, citizens deserve to be informed of events as they happen. Access to up-to-date information is essential to voters on election day. As soon as people are made aware of policy choices, they can voice their opinion. Government officials will have to be more responsive to public citizens once citizens can speak out more often with more facts at their disposal.

Television cameras should be allowed in courtrooms.

PRO: The public has a right to know what occurs inside the courtroom during trials. Viewers can learn a great deal about the legal process from televised trials. Televising court proceedings also allows people to make up their own minds about controversial rulings and verdicts. Lastly, denying television reporters access to courts would be a violation of the First Amendment right to freedom of the press.

CON: The Sixth Amendment guarantee of the right to a fair trial can be violated by extensive media coverage, particularly if cameras are allowed in the courtroom. Cameras are intrusive, and the media can foster a circus-like atmosphere during trials. Lawyers and judges might play to the camera instead of fully concentrating on the legal proceedings. Finally, witnesses lose their privacy when proceedings are televised.

Television stations should give free airtime to political candidates.

PRO: Free airtime for candidates would level the playing field, making it more difficult for candidates to dominate election campaigns with money. Free airtime would also give more candidates direct access to voters and encourage meaningful discussion. This exposure could help reduce negative ad campaigns and the preponderance of sound bites.

CON: People already have plenty of other sources of information, including cable channels devoted entirely to news. Television stations would lose millions of dollars in advertising income. Furthermore, candidates would most likely use this free airtime to attack their election opponents, further damaging the political process.

POVERTY

In 1996, more than 36 million people in the United States—about one in every seven Americans—lived in poverty. Although the poverty rate had dipped from the previous year, the problems facing the less fortunate today continue to be at the center of debate on Capitol Hill, in state legislatures, and in neighborhoods across the country. Lawmakers and citizens disagree over the causes of poverty and what should be done to eradicate it, or at least reduce it.

At the center of this discussion has been the federal government's role in assisting the poor through welfare programs like Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC), food stamps, and Medicaid. In recent years, these programs have been criticized, as poverty and homelessness seemed to get worse while spending increased. Lawmakers and citizens began to stress responsibility and work instead of guarantees from the government. Beginning in the 1980s, many Americans questioned the effectiveness of federal welfare programs and said it was time for experimentation and new ideas. Indeed, some believe that several programs actually made the poverty problem worse.

KEY QUESTIONS

- Will states do a better job controlling welfare?
- Should the government reduce financial help to the working poor?
- Should the government continue to fund public-housing programs?

How to reform welfare was at the heart of one of the most controversial legislative debates in recent years. In 1996 Congress did, however, pass a bill that ended the sixty-year-old guarantee of federal cash assistance to the poor. This bill gives block grants of federal money to the states and authorizes them to run their own welfare programs.

Two years later, the number of welfare recipients has dropped. However, while some attribute this progress to the new law, others wonder if state and local governments are equipped to maintain a financial safety net for people during an economic downturn. Even many who supported the welfare reform bill remain unsure about its long-term results.

BACKGROUND

Poverty in America

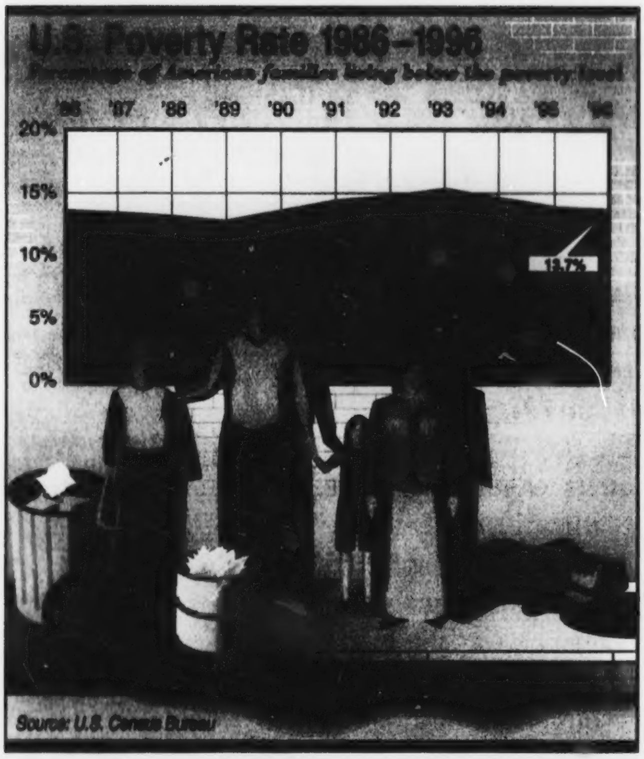
In 1996, the federal government defined the poverty threshold as $16,036 for a family of four and $12,516 for a family of three. In other words, families were classified as living in poverty if their annual income fell below that level. By this definition, in 1996, 36.5 million Americans—almost 14 percent of the U.S. population—lived in poverty. In 1976, 25 million Americans were living below the poverty line.

Poverty in America was at its worst during the Great Depression, when the unemployment rate reached 25 percent in 1932. The population suffered widespread hardship; millions of Americans were homeless and hungry. The Depression was the worst economic crisis ever in the United States. Since then, the country has endured numerous economic recessions, but they have usually been quite brief and have not created anything like the poverty seen during the 1930s. Although the poverty level in the United States has remained somewhat stable over the last thirty years, it is still one of the highest in the industrialized world.

Who Are the Poor? Poverty affects certain groups more than others. Historically, low-income Americans included the elderly, the disabled, single mothers, and some minority groups. For example, African Americans

About 36 million Americans still live in poverty. Many victims of poverty, like the man pictured here, are homeless.

Close Up Foundation/Renée Bouchard



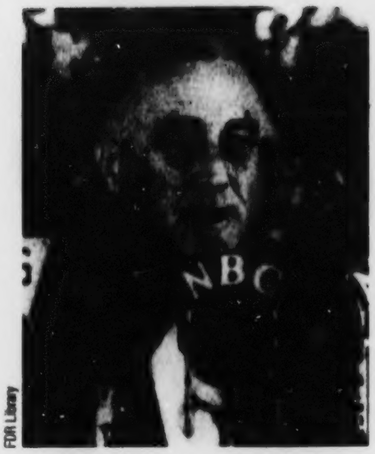
The poverty rate in the United States is one of the highest in the industrialized world.

and Latinos are more likely to be living in poverty than white Americans. Today, single mothers and their children make up about one-third of the nation's poor. Working women generally earn less than men, and a single mother often faces additional problems of running a household. Children have become, in the words of one expert, "the face of poverty." According to the U.S. Census Bureau, about 5.5 million children under the age of 6—almost one-quarter of the nation's total—lived in poverty in 1996.

What Causes Poverty? Americans disagree on the causes of poverty. While most agree that the lack of educational opportunity is a major reason, some believe that the capitalist economic system divides the population into rich and poor. A lack of job opportunities, particularly in the inner cities, is another reason. Others cite behavioral factors that may promote dependence, such as alcoholism, drug abuse, and the inability to find or hold a steady job. Because there are disagreements over the roots of poverty, lawmakers face difficult decisions about the best way to reduce it.

The Federal Government's Role in Fighting Poverty

Before the Great Depression, aid to the nation's needy citizens was primarily the role of private charities, families, and churches; the federal government's role was small. However, the economic catastrophe of the Great Depression of the 1930s compelled lawmakers in Washington to implement new policies to protect the nation's most vulnerable citizens. Thus, the New Deal was born.


FDR Library

President Franklin Roosevelt introduced his New Deal programs during the Great Depression of the 1930s, citing what he believed was the need for the federal government to come to the aid of disadvantaged men and women.

The New Deal. When millions of Americans fell into poverty during the early 1930s, the states were ill-equipped financially to provide for the needy, and there was no federal policy in place to provide aid to low-income people. President Franklin Roosevelt and Congress wrote landmark legislation, known collectively as the New Deal, to combat the effects of the Great Depression. The new legislation included massive job programs that provided work for unemployed Americans. Other programs focused on people who did not work because of their age or a disability. The legislation also aimed to provide decent housing for the poor.

Social Security. Formally named Old Age, Survivors, and Disability Insurance, Social Security was created in 1935 to provide assistance to low-income elderly Americans. The largest social program today, Social Security is a self-perpetuating trust fund with its own income and is financed by equal contributions from employer and employee. The amount individuals receive at retirement is based on their average monthly earnings over a number of years while they were working. All citizens over age 65, regardless of income, are eligible to receive varying levels of Social Security benefits.

Aid to Families with Dependent Children. Also created in 1935 as part of the Social Security Act, AFDC was the program most often associated with the term "welfare," although it was only one of several welfare programs. AFDC payments went to low-income families with children under 18 in which one or both parents were deceased, incapacitated, absent, or unemployed. In practice, most payments went to single mothers. The federal government and the states shared AFDC costs, which grew dramatically during the recession of the early 1990s. In 1995, 14 million people received AFDC benefits, totaling about $17 billion. In 1996, the program was ended after sixty-one years by President Clinton and Congress in a welfare reform law that handed authority for welfare to the states.

Public Housing. Another part of the New Deal legislation was the U.S. Housing Act, passed in 1937. The Act aimed to eliminate slums and construct low-rent housing for low-income Americans. For the next three decades, local public-housing authorities built and operated low-rent buildings. However, many such buildings fell into disrepair and needed more and more government funding for maintenance. Therefore, in 1974, Congress created the Section 8 program to revitalize public housing and control federal spending. Under Section 8, the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) subsidizes—pays part of—the rent for low-income tenants. According to federal guidelines, public-housing residents must contribute 30 percent of their income toward rent and HUD makes up the difference.

The Great Society. The legacy of Roosevelt's New Deal continued with President Lyndon Johnson's "War on Poverty." In 1964, President Johnson declared that no society could be great with poverty in its midst. Along with major civil rights legislation, Johnson implemented social programs designed to eliminate poverty by moving people up the economic ladder through vocational education and job training. He also promoted programs to help poor and older Americans get enough food and adequate health care. Johnson called his plan the Great Society.

Food Stamps. The Department of Agriculture instituted the federal food stamp program in 1964 to ensure that people with little or no income would have enough to eat. Instead of providing money, the food stamp program gives coupons, or vouchers, that are redeemable only for food. In 1996, the U.S. government spent about $27 billion on food stamps.

Medicaid and Medicare. Since 1965, Medicaid has provided low-income people with free or subsidized medical care. An estimated 37.5 million people were on the Medicaid rolls in 1996. In 1995, some members of Congress had proposed that the states administer their own Medicaid programs, free from federal regulations through a block grant (an annual lump sum of money). However, this proposal has not been passed.

Medicare, also instituted in 1965, pays health care benefits to a projected 38 million older and disabled Americans. The government allotted more than $203 billion for Medicare payments in fiscal year 1996. While many lower-income older Americans benefit from Medicaid, all people of retirement age receive Medicare benefits.

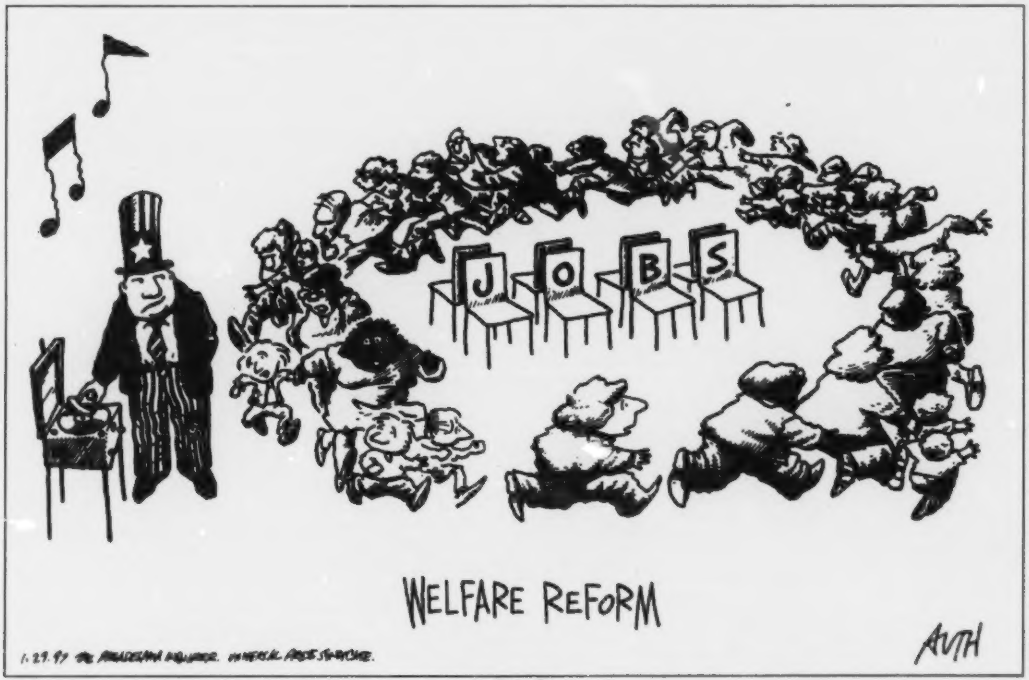
Back to the States. Since the mid-1960s, the federal government has spent trillions of dollars to reduce poverty, and yet the percentage of Americans in poverty has remained at 10 percent or higher for the past three decades. Critics of federal social programs cite this as evidence that these programs have not worked. Others maintain that without social programs, poverty in America would be much worse. Still, since the 1980s, the effectiveness of the federal government in combating poverty has come under attack. As the budget deficit increased and homelessness got worse, many Americans called for a reevaluation of social programs.

No other program came in for more criticism than AFDC. AFDC was a more controversial program than, for example, food stamps or Medicaid, because it was a direct cash payment; recipients could spend the money on anything they wanted. Critics charged that AFDC inadvertently encouraged poor women to have more children and provided incentives for recipients to stay unemployed. They said it was time for bold experimentation, including taking welfare out of the hands of the federal government.

President Clinton came into office in 1993 promising to "end welfare as we know it." In August 1996, Congress passed, and the president signed, a historic welfare reform bill called the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Act. The new law ended the sixty-one-year guarantee of cash assistance to poor families with children and gave states vast new authority to run their own welfare programs using block grants from the federal government. Among the major provisions of the law are requirements that adults on welfare find work within two years and receive benefits for no more than a total of five years during a lifetime. In addition, noncitizens will generally be ineligible for food stamps and other benefits. The welfare reform bill will reduce federal funding of welfare programs by more than $50 billion over the next six years.

CURRENT ISSUES

Welfare and the States. When President Clinton signed the 1996 welfare reform bill into law, more than 14 million Americans were receiving AFDC benefits. In October 1996, the federal government began giving states the funds to run their own welfare programs,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WELFARE REFORM
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1.29.97 THE PHILADELPHIA INQUIRER. UNIVERSAL PRESS SYNDICATE.

Auth © *The Philadelphia Inquirer.* Reprinted with permission of Universal Press Syndicate which are either more or less strict than federal guidelines. One year after most states' new requirements went into effect, welfare caseloads across the nation fell by almost 1.5 million people. Many supporters of the bill give credit not only to the legislation but also to reform-minded governors and innovative state experiments. However, some remain skeptical of the results and say that the robust U.S. economy is responsible for the decline in the welfare rolls. Some worry that jobs will be scarce when the economy slows, making it harder for people to find jobs and stay off welfare. While few observers would argue the significance of the new law, they disagree about its long-term effect on needy citizens.

Supporters of the welfare reform bill believe that the federal government allowed welfare to become a lifelong entitlement, rather than temporary assistance. They think that programs such as AFDC created a culture of dependency by providing financial incentives for low-income Americans to stay unemployed. In addition, many Americans believe that the federal government was too inefficient and bureaucratic to properly administer a program like AFDC, and that state governments deserve the opportunity to control welfare. They contend that states, largely free from federal regulations and more in touch with their residents, can more effectively implement their own welfare programs.

On the other hand, many lawmakers and experts argue that the federal government should always guarantee some level of financial assistance to low-income Americans. Critics ask how state governments will provide welfare during recessions, when unemployment increases the demand for financial assistance. In addition, many doubt that states will successfully move welfare recipients into jobs without providing them with extensive job training, child care, and health insurance benefits. Unless these benefits are offered, former welfare recipients may conclude that they were better off on government assistance

FROM WELFARE TO WORKFARE

Since the passage of the 1996 welfare reform bill, many states have created welfare-to-work programs. Under these programs, welfare recipients must work or perform community service for twenty hours per week to receive benefits. Government jobs or workfare positions provide transitional employment for some welfare recipients, giving them the skills needed to move into the private labor market.

Many former welfare recipients found jobs in the private sector, such as in this parcel delivery company.

Philip Greenberg/NYT Permissions

and quit their jobs. Critics believe that if the state then cuts off welfare, those who will suffer the most will be the children in low-income families—a consequence that is unacceptable to many Americans and their elected officials.

Help for the Working Poor. In 1996, more than 9.5 million Americans worked in a low-paying job and did not earn enough money to raise them above the federal poverty level. Thus, the Clinton administration expanded the earned-income tax credit (EITC) to enhance the income of these families. Under the EITC, eligible workers receive a tax credit, or refund. This program cost the federal government $27 billion in tax revenue in 1996 and is now one of the largest federal antipoverty programs.

Many lawmakers support the EITC because they believe it helps support the family and rewards work. And unlike welfare, the EITC is available only to people who work. A parent with two children may qualify for an EITC totaling more than $3,500. Lawmakers say that the EITC, combined with the current minimum wage of about $5.00 per hour, increases the hourly wage to more than $6.00.

Opponents of the current EITC say that, although the plan is a good way to encourage work, it has weaknesses. Some members of Congress have proposed cuts to the EITC. They believe that the promise of such a tax credit causes some taxpayers to falsely report their earnings. Other Americans think that able-bodied adults without children should not be eligible for this program. In addition, some lawmakers question whether the tax credit actually eases the poverty burden and inspires American men and women to get off the welfare rolls and seek better-paying jobs. They wonder if it encourages workers to earn just enough each year to qualify for the tax credit, but no more.

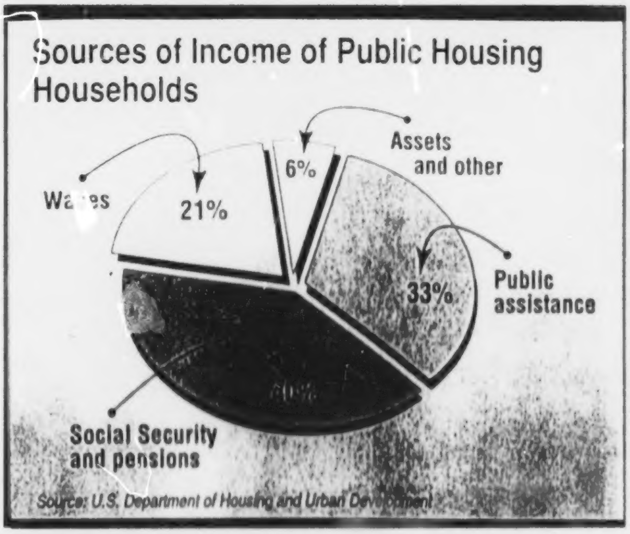
Public Housing. Today, the Section 8 public housing program subsidizes and maintains 1.8 million affordable apartments, which house 4.4 million people. Residents have varied income sources; one-third receive public assistance, but the others have salaries or draw Social Security checks or pension checks. Almost half of those living in public housing are either elderly or disabled. Some members of Congress want to pass legislation that would give block grants to local governments to operate their own housing programs.

Supporters of public housing think that the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development provides a valuable transitional service to the poor. They believe that public-housing programs, many of which include job training, help people move from welfare to work. Advocates point out that more than three-quarters of public-housing residents leave the program in less than ten years—after they have greater sources of income and are self-sufficient. They also note that public-housing projects provide one of the only sources of low-rent housing for the poor, and prevent people from being homeless. Many also contend that public-housing projects improve communities by building safe neighborhoods for low-income residents.

On the other hand, critics think that providing inexpensive public housing is a disincentive for people to work. Opponents contend that

ANTIBEGGING LAWS

According to the National Law Center on Homelessness and Poverty, by the end of 1996 three-quarters of the nation's fifty largest cities had imposed antibegging laws. These cities have made it illegal for homeless people to panhandle, stand on street corners, and sleep in public parks. Some retailers say that the presence of the homeless hurts their businesses. Advocates for the homeless, however, argue that cities need to offer these individuals somewhere else to go, such as shelters or transitional housing, before they push them out of public places.



Source: U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development

Public Data Housing Book, HUD Office of Policy Development and Research

Despite widespread misconceptions, the primary income source of public-housing residents is not public assistance.

public housing is a welfare program that needs to be reformed to encourage people to be independent of all forms of public assistance. They also argue that public-housing projects concentrate problems of poverty into a certain area of town and create substandard living conditions. Some contend that current programs need to be reformed so that public-housing agencies have greater flexibility with federal funds. Finally, some people think that the public-housing agencies are overly bureaucratic and inefficient.

OUTLOOK

The 1996 welfare reform law reflected a shift in many Americans' attitudes toward the needy. While many Americans want "smaller government," they also believe that government must promote personal responsibility and not subsidize unemployment and dependency. Others, however, believe that many people are scapegoating lower-income Americans and do not understand, or have never experienced, what it is like to be poor. As state governments begin implementing the welfare reform law, political leaders and citizens will be watching to see what the effect will be on the needy in their communities.

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THE DEBATE: POVERTY

States will do a better job controlling welfare.

PRO: Federal welfare programs, particularly AFDC, have created a culture of dependency and entitlement that leads to a cycle of poverty. With the implementation of the 1996 welfare reform bill, state governments can now freely experiment and establish their own welfare policies that will work for their residents. Free from federal oversight, states can now spend the money as they like and help move welfare recipients into work.

CON: The welfare reform bill will prove to be a major disaster not only for the states but also for the millions of Americans who rely on government assistance. State governments do not have the resources to provide welfare benefits to all their needy residents. Inevitably, they will look to Washington for help. The federal government learned during the Great Depression that it should always provide a safety net for all Americans.

The government should reduce financial help to the working poor.

PRO: Although the earned-income tax credit may encourage work, it has its weaknesses. The promise of an EITC causes some taxpayers to falsely report their earnings to qualify for a higher credit. Some American men and women deliberately work long enough to obtain the maximum benefits, but no longer. It is questionable whether the credit actually inspires people to seek better-paying jobs instead of collecting welfare.

CON: The government should reward people who work to support families but do not earn enough income to rise above the poverty level. The EITC helps such people realize that working is more commendable than collecting welfare. Counting the financial benefits of the EITC, the average hourly wage would rise significantly. Expanding the EITC would enhance the income of these families and reward work rather than welfare.

The government should continue to fund public-housing programs.

PRO: Public-housing projects provide transitional support for poor families and help move people from welfare to work. These projects promote self-sufficiency by offering, for example, job-training programs. They also help many low-income families fend off homelessness by renting apartments at a reasonable price. Furthermore, public housing creates safe neighborhoods in low-income communities.

CON: Public housing promotes dependency on government programs. It is a disincentive for poor people to work and be self-sufficient. Public-housing projects also concentrate the problems of poverty into specific areas. Public-housing agencies need to have greater freedom to utilize federal funds as they see fit in their towns and communities. In addition, such agencies need to be reformed to curb inefficiency.

WOMEN AND MINORITIES

KEY QUESTIONS

- Should affirmative action be abolished?
- Should special penalties apply to hate crimes?
- Should same-sex marriages be allowed?

The authors of the Constitution might be shocked to see the many Americans who have been granted civil rights protections. When the Constitution was written in 1787, only white male property owners were protected by it and given the right to vote. Gradually, rights were extended by law to nonlandowners, racial minorities, and women. In the 1960s and 1970s, the federal government outlawed discrimination based on race and gender and passed laws to protect the rights of minorities and women. Soon, other groups, such as older Americans and people with disabilities, began to demand—and win—their rights.

Although the United States has made great progress toward protecting its people from discrimination, some Americans favor stronger laws to guarantee that women and minorities are treated fairly by employers, businesses, and schools. However, others believe that civil rights laws—particularly affirmative action policies—have gone too far. They contend that certain government-granted rights and guarantees, designed to redress past wrongs against certain groups of people, may actually discriminate against other groups. Many lawmakers and citizens have called for these policies to be changed. For example, in 1996, California residents voted for a proposition banning all affirmative action programs in the state.

Forty years after the beginning of the modern civil rights movement, Americans have differing opinions about the meaning of "rights" and whether policies to correct past injustices go too far. Some think that too many groups in the United States still face discrimination and that it would be a mistake to abandon protections that they believe have worked so well.

BACKGROUND

Discrimination in America

Racial Discrimination. After the Civil War, three constitutional amendments gave former slaves full rights of citizenship: The Thirteenth Amendment abolished slavery, the Fourteenth Amendment guaranteed civil rights, and the Fifteenth Amendment granted black males the right to vote. However, racial prejudice could not be easily legislated away. After postwar Reconstruction, southern states implemented "Jim Crow" laws, which segregated public facilities by race. These laws affected restaurants, theaters, schools, and even drinking fountains. In 1896, the Supreme Court upheld such laws in the case of *Plessy v. Ferguson,* saying that segregation was legal as long as "separate but equal" facilities were provided.

In 1948, President Harry Truman proposed several reforms to address racial discrimination. He ordered the U.S. military to desegregate its units. Truman also proposed bills to protect all citizens' right to vote, to prohibit lynching, and to end discrimination on trains and other interstate transportation facilities. However, powerful southern senators and representatives in Congress blocked most attempts at reform.

Library of Congress

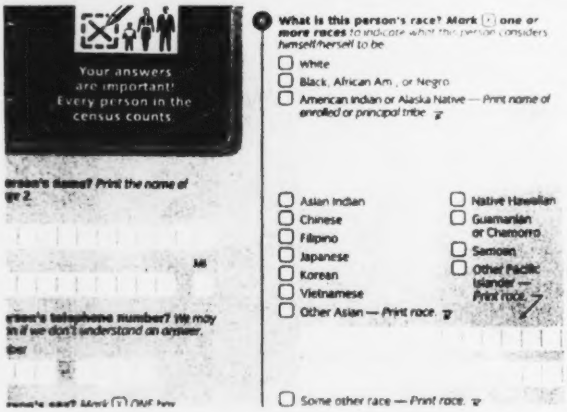
The Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution, ratified in 1868, guaranteed former slaves their civil rights. But the United States remained a nation legally divided by race for nearly 100 more years until the Civil Rights Act of 1964 prohibited the "Jim Crow" laws that segregated the races in the South.

Civil Rights Reforms. The 1954 Supreme Court decision in *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas,* sparked the modern civil rights movement. The Court unanimously ruled that maintaining separate schools for black and white students was unconstitutional because separate schools could not offer equal educational opportunities. Federal court judges later ordered many school districts to redraw boundary lines and bus children to schools outside their own neighborhoods, if necessary, to achieve racial integration in each district school.

Civil Rights Act of 1957. The Civil Rights Act of 1957 was the first attempt since Reconstruction to institute comprehensive civil rights legislation. This law made it illegal to prevent people from voting in federal elections. It also created the U.S. Civil Rights Commission—an advisory panel—and the Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice. However,

CENSUS 2000 AND RACE

The U.S. census is a population survey administered by the federal government every ten years. The census questions Americans' family size, income level, and race. In 1790 the census asked people to classify themselves in one of three categories: free white male, free white female, and slave. The categories changed after the Civil War as the racial composition of the country evolved. The census that will be administered in 2000 will include the following categories: black, white, American Indian or Alaska Native, Asian, Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander, and Hispanic. However, acknowledging the increasing number of children born into interracial families, the Census Bureau for the first time will allow people of mixed racial heritage to check off more than one category.



Your answers are important! Every person in the census counts

erson's name? Print the name of

erson's telephone number? We may

n if we don't understand an answer.

What is this person's race? Mark ☒ one or more races to indicate what this person considers himself/herself to be

☐ White
☐ Black, African Am., or Negro
☐ American Indian or Alaska Native — Print name of enrolled or principal tribe
☐ Asian Indian
☐ Chinese
☐ Filipino
☐ Japanese
☐ Korean
☐ Vietnamese
☐ Other Asian — Print race.
☐ Native Hawaiian
☐ Guamanian or Chamorro
☐ Samoan
☐ Other Pacific Islander — Print race.
☐ Some other race — Print race.

Close Up Foundation/Renee Bouchard

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the act had many loopholes and proved largely ineffective in securing the universal right to vote.

Twenty-fourth Amendment. In 1964, the Twenty-fourth Amendment was added to the Constitution. This amendment barred the use of a poll tax (a tax that was often used to prevent low-income African Americans from voting) or any other tax in federal elections. A 1966 Supreme Court ruling extended the amendment to state and local elections.

Civil Rights Act of 1964. The landmark Civil Rights Act of 1964 prohibited discrimination in public accommodations such as restaurants and hotels and in programs receiving federal aid. This far-reaching legislation also prohibited job discrimination by employers and unions, established the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, and strengthened enforcement of voting and desegregation laws.

AP Photo/Bob Galbraith, File

Ward Connerly, shown here, led the campaign to pass the controversial Proposition 209 in California.

Affirmative Action. In the early 1960s, President John Kennedy issued a series of executive orders requiring federal contractors to "take affirmative action" to ensure that their hiring practices did not discriminate on the basis of race or gender. His successors, Lyndon Johnson and Richard Nixon, expanded these programs in the late 1960s and early 1970s.

The goal of affirmative action is to match the racial and gender composition of the workplace and higher education with that of society as a whole. The policies require governments and government contractors to take an active role to help some minority groups overcome past discrimination, by considering race or gender as a factor when hiring or awarding contracts. Many businesses, universities, and colleges have voluntarily adopted affirmative action programs.

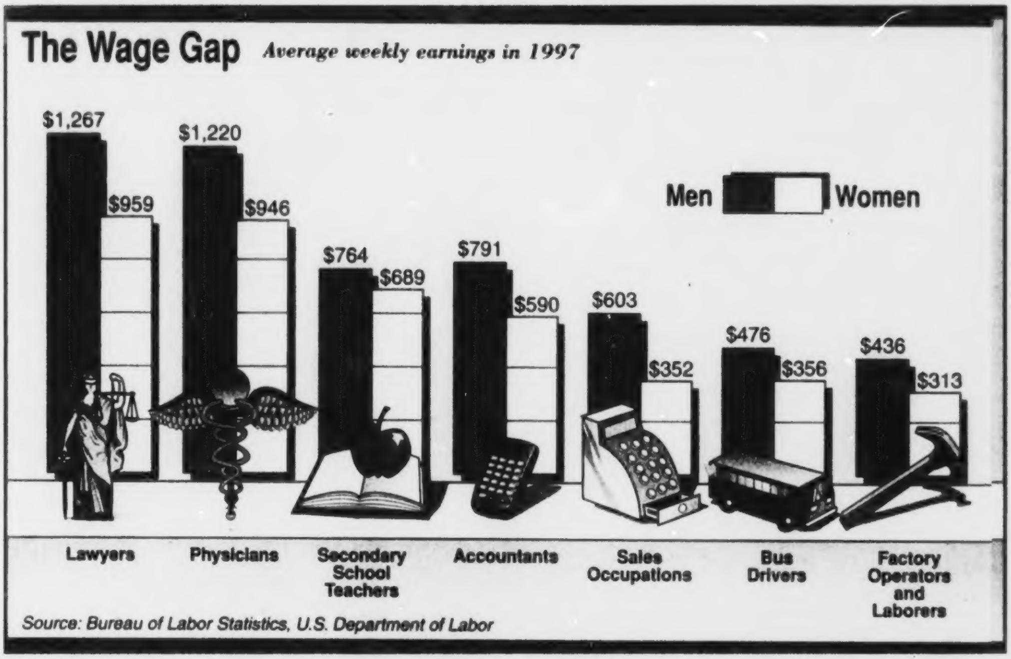
However, many Americans believe that affirmative action can lead to racial quotas and charge that it promotes reverse discrimination, mostly against whites. In 1996, California voters approved a sweeping initiative—called Proposition 209—that barred the state from discriminating against, or granting "preferential treatment to, any individual or group on the basis of race, sex, color, ethnicity, or national origin in the operation of public employment, public education, or public contracting." Although opponents argued that Proposition 209 was unconstitutional, federal courts upheld the measure in 1997.

The regents of the University of California approved a plan similar to Proposition 209, which affected graduate students enrolling during the fall semester in 1996. As a result, minority enrollment at top graduate programs in state-funded schools has dropped. At the University of California at Los Angeles Law School, for example, only 21 black students were admitted in 1997—down from 104 in 1996. Critics of Proposition 209 say the new law has led to the exclusion of African Americans and Latinos from universities, a trend that might have harmful long-term effects on the economic standing of minorities and on race relations in general. Supporters, however, think that minorities should be judged solely on their merits when applying for admission to top programs.

Voting Rights Act. Passed in 1965, the Voting Rights Act was aimed at eliminating local laws and practices that were still preventing African Americans and other minorities from voting. The act forbids literacy tests, poll taxes, and intimidation of voters in any state.

Protection from Discrimination in Housing. In 1968, Congress extended civil rights protection to prevent discrimination in the sale or rental of some 80 percent of the nation's housing. However, many experts say that this law is difficult to enforce, and that people continue to live in certain areas because of their race and income.

Later Civil Rights Legislation. In 1988, Congress passed the Civil Rights Restoration Act, which prevents institutions that receive government money from discriminating—in any of their programs—on the basis of gender, race, age, or disability. The Supreme Court had interpreted earlier legislation to prohibit schools, governments, private organizations, and corporations


The Wage Gap *Average weekly earnings in 1997*

Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics, U.S. Department of Labor

The graph above compares average weekly earnings of men and women in selected full-time occupations. Women sometimes earn as little as 60 percent of what men earn in one week. Preliminary figures for 1997 showed that the wage gap between men and women is increasing.

from discriminating only in the specific programs for which they received federal funds. In 1991, President George Bush signed a new civil rights law expanding workers' rights in discrimination disputes.

Discrimination Against Women. In the 1960s and early 1970s, women began mobilizing support against gender discrimination. Inspired by the civil rights movement, women sought greater access to jobs, more political influence, and a greater recognition of their equality and competence.

Suffrage Movement. Several generations earlier, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony had led the suffrage movement to get the vote for women. Suffragists tried to include women in the Fifteenth Amendment, ratified in 1870, which guaranteed the right to vote to all men regardless of race. However, that idea was blocked by members of Congress who feared that a provision giving women the right to vote would keep the entire amendment from passing.

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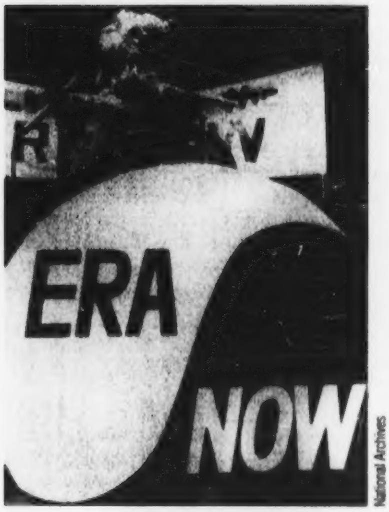


Women's rights activist Betty Friedan was the first president of the National Organization for Women and a prominent advocate of the Equal Rights Amendment.

Despite this setback the suffrage movement continued, and by 1912 women had won the right to vote in nine western states. In 1916, the National Woman's Party organized support for a national suffrage amendment, and on August 18, 1920, the Nineteenth Amendment was ratified, extending to women the right to vote in all state and national elections.

Laws Against Gender Discrimination. The women's rights movement made great progress in the 1960s and 1970s. In 1963, Congress adopted the Equal Pay Act, which guaranteed equal pay for men and women who perform equal work. In the early 1970s, the Supreme Court applied clauses of the Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments to strike down laws that discriminated against women. A 1972 law barred gender-based discrimination in all education programs receiving federal support. And in 1978, Congress amended the Civil Rights Act to prohibit job discrimination against pregnant women. Despite progress in achieving equal rights, many Americans believed that only a constitutional amendment could correct gender discrimination for good.

Equal Rights Amendment (ERA). In 1971, Congress passed a proposed amendment to the Constitution that supporters thought would guarantee equal rights for women. The Equal Rights Amendment stated: "Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex." The controversial amendment was never added to the Constitution, falling a few states short of the three-fourths necessary for ratification.

Discrimination in Higher Education. In 1996, the Supreme Court ruled that the Virginia Military Institute's (VMI) policy of denying women access to this public, tax-supported institution was in violation of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution, which guarantees "equal protection of the laws" for people, regardless of their sex. VMI decided to begin enrolling women to continue receiving state and federal funding. A similar institution, The Citadel in South Carolina, also opened its doors to women.

Discrimination Against People with Disabilities. In the past, Americans with disabilities were often segregated in special schools and denied college educations. Without adequate education, they often had to settle for low-paying jobs that required few skills. The Rehabilitation Act of 1973 outlawed some barriers to equal education and created job opportunities for disabled people. The law prohibited employers who receive federal aid or who work on government contracts from refusing to hire people with disabilities. The act also required that colleges make buildings accessible to people who are blind or in wheelchairs. In addition, Congress extended protection against discrimination in housing to disabled Americans in 1988.

In 1990, Congress passed the Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA), the most extensive civil rights legislation since the 1964 Civil Rights Act. This law protects people with physical and mental disabilities by prohibiting discrimination in employment, transportation, telecommunications, services, and public places such as restaurants, theaters, and stores. To comply, some companies and institutions had to make major changes to provide wider doors, convenient parking, hearing aids, braille information, and communication services for people with disabilities.

In 1997, President Clinton signed the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA), which revamps an older law guaranteeing adequate public education to disabled children. IDEA gives schools more funding and greater flexibility to educate and discipline disabled students.

Discrimination Against Homosexuals. In recent years, homosexual men and women have asked the government to protect them from

ALL GIRLS?

There are six public schools in the United States that have all-girl student populations. These schools are facing legal challenges because they receive federal funding. Opponents maintain that not only are these public schools unconstitutional, but children need to learn how to make friends and work with members of the opposite sex. However, proponents of single-sex schools believe that the self-esteem of girls suffers from a lack of attention in the classroom. All-girl schools concentrate on building girls' self-confidence and teaching them leadership skills.

discrimination. Although federal law does not extend civil rights protections based on sexual orientation, several cities, counties, and states have passed some types of bans on discriminating against homosexuals. Conversely, other states and communities, including Colorado, thought protections were going too far and banned homosexual antidiscrimination legislation. However, in 1996, the Supreme Court struck down the Colorado law, saying it was unconstitutional.

Homosexual couples are not allowed to legally marry in most states, and therefore are denied rights that are commonly granted to married persons. For example, married people can often be covered under their spouse's health plans, file joint tax returns, and make important medical decisions for their spouse. In 1997, Congress voted to deny federal benefits to married people of the same sex.

Most communities deny similar rights to homosexual partners. However, several local governments have granted some rights to homosexual couples, and a few localities have allowed such couples to legally register as "domestic partners." Domestic partner laws do not grant homosexual couples all the rights of married couples, but some communities, such as San Francisco, do allow domestic partners who work for the city government to enroll their partners for health care benefits.

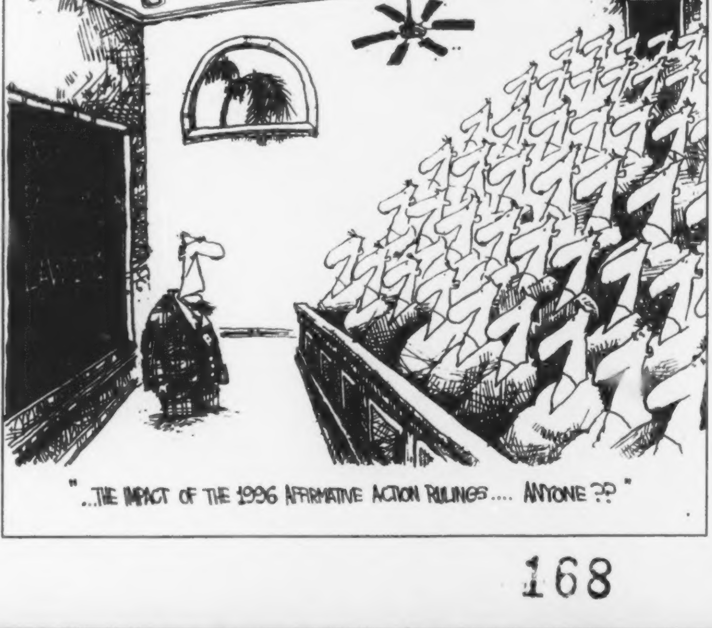
CURRENT ISSUES

Affirmative Action. Many governments, federal contractors, businesses, and universities have encouraged the hiring and recruitment of racial minorities and women in school and the workplace through affirmative action programs. However, in recent years, these policies have been challenged on many fronts across the United States.

Members of Congress introduced bills that would end affirmative action. Also, the Supreme Court ruled that affirmative action programs must address specific, identifiable past acts of discrimination as opposed to a general presumption of discrimination. Lawmakers across the country are examining the effect Proposition 209 has had in California.

Supporters of racial and gender preference policies maintain that affirmative action has been an effective tool for correcting bias in hiring, college enrollment, and government contracting. Proponents think that these policies are still needed because the economic status of minorities relative to white workers continues to be low. Unemployment rates continue to be higher among black and Hispanic workers. Women and minority workers still earn less than white men in the same occupation. Many also cite the recent drop in minority admissions in California universities as a reason to keep affirmative action programs in place.

On the other hand, many Americans argue that affirmative action forces employers, universities, and governments to fill racial and gender quotas, which can lead to race and gender being placed above all other qualifications or merits. Opponents say that many institutions have begun to favor minorities even if there is no evidence of prior discrimination against a particular group. They also contend that affirmative action implies that minorities and women cannot compete on



"...THE IMPACT OF THE 1996 AFFIRMATIVE ACTION RULINGS.... ANYONE ??"

Matt Davies, reprinted by permission of United Features Syndicate, Inc.

a level playing field with other Americans, thereby undermining the self-esteem and the successes of hard-working minorities and women. Critics argue that affirmative action now does more harm than good, and that the time has come to honor individual merit over group rights.

Hate Crimes. A hate crime is an illegal act committed against a person because of a bias against that individual's race, religion, ethnic origin, or sexual orientation. In 1990, President Bush signed the Hate Crime Statistics Act, which requires the FBI to compile statistics on hate crimes each year. By 1991, forty-six states had enacted hate crime statutes that mandate special penalties. These include longer sentences for perpetrators of violent crimes and lesser charges such as verbal harassment. Although violent crime declined in the mid-1990s, the FBI reported that hate crimes rose by 42 percent between 1991 and 1995.

These statistics have caused great concern about hate crimes. Federal law already allows the lengthening of sentences for hate crimes. A new proposal has come before Congress that would allow the Justice Department to federally prosecute local hate crimes. Although many oppose federal intervention in local policy, some people do support tougher penalties for hate crimes.

Opponents of special penalties for hate crimes note that, by definition, these actions are already illegal and do not require additional penalties. Some experts also maintain that hate crime laws are unconstitutional. They say that the laws violate people's First Amendment rights by more heavily punishing those with particular viewpoints. Critics believe that this is a slippery slope that could lead to prosecuting people based on their ideas. Some further argue that testimony in hate crime trials is sometimes based on hearsay; a witness might testify that

HIGH STAKES ON THE RESERVATION

The Indian Gaming Regulatory Act of 1988 (IGRA), cleared the way for opening casinos on Indian reservations by confirming that tribes had an "exclusive" right to regulate gambling on their land. In 1996, Indian casinos made about $6 billion, up from $100 million in 1988. Because Indian tribes are sovereign—or independent—entities under U.S. law, they do not have to pay any local, state, or federal taxes on their profits. Critics of IGRA argue that Indians have an unfair advantage over other local casinos. Others note that Indian casino profits help build schools and improve housing on reservations.

the victim was called a racial slur, for example, to prove bigotry. Therefore, a person's rights in the courtroom could be violated.

On the other hand, advocates of special penalties for hate crimes believe that tougher sentences are needed to address the damage that these crimes do, not only to the victim, but also to society at large. They argue that the motivations for hate crimes, such as racism and homophobia, are crimes that harm the community and humanity in general. Some experts favor hate crime laws because, like antidiscrimination laws, they can discourage prejudice. Supporters also maintain that hate crime laws punish people's illegal actions, not their thoughts or speech, and therefore are not a violation of First Amendment rights.

Same-Sex Marriages. Although homosexual couples in some communities are registered as domestic partners, they lack many of the legal benefits that heterosexual married people enjoy. Therefore, many of these couples have been campaigning for the legalization of same-sex marriages. The efforts got a big boost recently when Hawaii ruled that the state would not prohibit same-sex marriage. However, Congress, anticipating such a ruling, passed the Defense of Marriage Act, which defines marriage as a legal union between one man and one woman and declares that states do not have to recognize same-sex unions legalized in other states, including Hawaii.

Supporters of same-sex marriage believe that denying homosexual couples the right to marry is discriminatory. Legalizing same-sex marriage would allow homosexual partners to take advantage of tax benefits and obtain joint health care coverage—financial privileges that heterosexuals have. Gay rights advocates also think that allowing same-sex marriages would help children growing up in these nontraditional families feel more normal and socially accepted. Proponents dispute any notion that these unions would be detrimental to American society, and argue that the government should have no jurisdiction to make laws prohibiting marriage—a very personal act that demonstrates love and commitment—between two adults.

On the other hand, opponents of same-sex marriage believe that redefining marriage to include homosexual partners would further damage the institution of marriage. They think that the high divorce rate shows that the institution—which honors fidelity and lifelong commitment—has already been weakened in American society. These critics maintain that marriage should be legally defined as a union between a man and a woman, and point out that Judeo-Christian tradition defines marriage as a male-female union to ensure the creation of children. Others believe that homosexuality is morally wrong and that legalizing gay marriages is tantamount to the government condoning and subsidizing this lifestyle.

OUTLOOK

Despite the progress achieved in extending civil rights to all Americans over the past thirty years, some citizens believe that discrimination is still a major problem. They say that the federal government has not done enough to eliminate discrimination against minorities, women, homosexuals, and people with disabilities. However, others argue that government actions to make up for past discrimination have gone too far and actually discriminate against other groups, particularly white males. Lawmakers and the public must decide how much they are willing to scale back these policies without giving free rein to discrimination in companies and universities across the United States.

THE DEBATE: WOMEN AND MINORITIES

Affirmative action should be abolished.

PRO: Affirmative action is just another term for quotas. Quotas were once used to prevent qualified minorities from finding jobs. Using quotas to help minorities and women is no less discriminatory. Employers and universities should look for the most qualified candidates, regardless of race or gender. Affirmative action encourages people to place color and gender above all else.

CON: Discrimination against minorities and women still exists in the United States today. Affirmative action helps prevent this, and also compensates for past injustices. These programs ensure that qualified persons do not lose out because of their gender or race. Eliminating affirmative action would give employers an excuse to return to the discriminatory practices of the past.

Special penalties should apply to hate crimes.

PRO: Hate crime laws are necessary because bias, such as racism or homophobia, harms not only the victim of the crime but also society at large. A criminal's motivation—and the harm to the community—needs to be taken into account when sentencing. Hate crime laws also discourage prejudice. Furthermore, hate crime laws are not unconstitutional because they punish people's illegal actions, not their beliefs.

CON: A hate crime is already an illegal act, and therefore should be punished by standard criminal procedures. Hate crime laws violate people's First Amendment rights, because they punish people for their thoughts and beliefs. Therefore, making sentences longer for hate crimes is unconstitutional. Lastly, in a hate crime trial, hearsay evidence is admissible, and the defendant therefore has fewer rights in the courtroom.

Same-sex marriages should be allowed.

PRO: Denying homosexual couples the right to marriage is discriminatory. They should be entitled to the same benefits heterosexual couples enjoy. No compelling evidence exists that these unions are damaging to families or children. The government has no place mandating who in American society can and cannot marry; if anything, it should be encouraging more marriages.

CON: Homosexuality is morally wrong, and the government should not condone it by legalizing gay marriages. Marriage should be legally defined as a union between a man and a woman. The institution of marriage in America has already been weakened enough by high divorce rates; allowing homosexual couples the right to marry would only weaken it further.

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INTRODUCTION

The world has witnessed historic changes during the 1990s. Early in the decade, the Cold War ended, the Soviet Union broke apart, and communism virtually disappeared from Europe. Improved communication and increased trade among nations continued to add to international interdependence. Democracy spread around the world to nations as far apart as South Africa, Russia, and Haiti.

In recent years, leaders in the Middle East have made great strides in bringing peace to that war-torn region. U.S. armed forces found themselves in a new role, patrolling places such as Bosnia as peacekeeping forces. The post–Cold War world has become more peaceful as many nations have begun shifting their foreign policy focus away from potential conflicts with one another and toward greater cooperation.

Until the late 1800s, the United States was largely uninvolved in world affairs. However, its economic and military power grew in the twentieth century, as did its ability to influence other nations. After the end of World War II in 1945, the United States and the Soviet Union—the world's two dominant powers—became locked in a Cold War that would last until the early 1990s and the collapse of the Soviet Union. Since then American officials have worked to define a new role for the United States on the international scene.

Just as U.S. leaders identify the nation's foreign policy goals, they also must determine the best way to achieve those objectives and deal with both ongoing situations and changing circumstances. Some methods are public, while others take place behind the scenes. One way U.S. officials work with other countries is through diplomacy—meetings between government leaders or their representatives. Diplomacy also includes friendly persuasion, pressure, and advice.

For example, American officials can use trade policies as a means to implement foreign policy. Another method is through economic or military aid programs. Policymakers may also try to sway the citizens of other countries through newspapers, books, and radio and television broadcasts, or they may arrange scientific and cultural exchanges to help promote goodwill toward the United States. Nations also belong to international organizations, such as the United Nations, where they debate global concerns. Finally, the U.S. government can use military force to protect its interests and those of friendly nations.

In the United States, both the executive and legislative branches are responsible for foreign policy. The president generally sets the agenda for foreign policy decisions by appointing ambassadors, negotiating treaties, and serving as commander in chief of the armed forces. The Department of State carries out the president's foreign policy. State Department officials represent the United States in international negotiations, staff American embassies around the world, promote cultural exchanges between U.S. and foreign citizens, and protect American citizens and investments abroad. Congress has the power to approve presidential nominations for ambassadorships and top State Department positions, declare war, ratify treaties, provide money for foreign aid and military programs, and pass laws or resolutions stating a specific foreign policy.

The administration and Congress do not always agree on foreign policy. Some policymakers think that the government is too involved in foreign affairs and should pay more attention to domestic problems. Others believe that the world's nations are becoming more interdependent and that the United States needs to increase its involvement with other countries. The challenge is to strike a balance between working to solve the world's problems and dealing with issues at home.

DEFENSE

The U.S. military underwent dramatic changes in the 1990s as it adjusted to new budgetary constraints and a relaxing of tensions worldwide. Nevertheless, U.S. armed forces remained active around the world, often in nontraditional humanitarian and peacekeeping roles.

Military interventions in Rwanda, Haiti, and Bosnia prompted many Americans to question whether their country's armed forces should be involved in the expensive, often dangerous businesses of peacekeeping and humanitarian aid. Most Americans, like their policymakers, are struggling to define which allies and conflicts are most important to U.S. interests in the post–Cold War world.

KEY QUESTIONS

- Should the U.S. military adopt a new defense strategy?
- Should the U.S. military participate in peacekeeping missions?
- Should the U.S. military invest more in high-tech versions of traditional weapons?

During the Cold War, the United States developed nuclear and conventional weapons and built up the armed forces to defend against the Soviet Union and its allies. President Ronald Reagan increased U.S. defense spending in the 1980s to an all-time high.

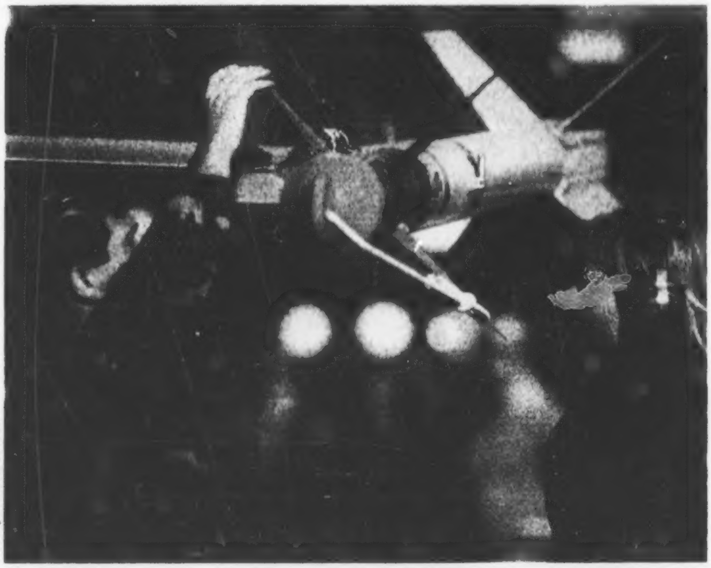
However, after the breakup of the Soviet Union, President George Bush and his successor, President Bill Clinton, cut the defense budget. Troop levels were reduced and less money was allocated to develop new high-tech equipment. Although most of the basic defense strategies used during the Cold War remain intact, some analysts advocate the complete reorganization of the U.S. military. Defining and protecting America's security for the twenty-first century is one of the biggest issues facing the Pentagon and civilian policymakers today.

BACKGROUND

U.S. Defense Policy

What Type of Military Does the United States Need? Currently, about 1.4 million active duty men and women serve in the U.S. Air Force, Army, Navy, and Marine Corps. These troops, with their weapons and equipment, support the nation's military goals. For many years, those goals have been to defend the United States, prevent nuclear war, provide forces in support of U.S. foreign policy, protect western Europe from attack, and ensure freedom of the seas. In 1995, the Pentagon added a new goal—"peace engagement"—to support its increasing number of global peacekeeping operations.

The United States spends billions of dollars each year maintaining a strong defense to deter other nations from mounting an attack. Political and military leaders want potential enemies to know that if the United States is attacked, it will repel the invasion and defeat the attacking country. The United States also uses its armed forces to demonstrate its power and to help maintain stable and friendly governments around the world.



U.S. Department of Defense

Today women make up about 13.5 percent of American troops, a larger proportion than in any other NATO-member force.

In the past, U.S. forces were trained to defend against one main enemy—the Soviet Union. Leaders in the Soviet Union and the United States believed that the interests of their nations were in direct conflict. For forty-five years, the two superpowers competed for military dominance, influence, and power, fueling a Cold War that shaped worldwide defense strategies and relations.

Now that the Soviet Union has dissolved and the Cold War is over, the former Soviet republics and allies are beginning to look and act more like their Western counterparts. Their governments allow more freedom, permit opposition political parties, hold democratic elections, and work to establish market economies.

Because the threat of a major superpower conflict has receded, the U.S. military has redefined its mission somewhat by de-emphasizing the protection of Europe and focusing instead on defending other U.S. interests and allies around the globe. These changing priorities have required a modified military strategy. Since 1993, defense planners have restructured the armed forces so that, if necessary, they can fight two regional wars at once, though the value of this strategy and the required spending are matters of debate.

Preventing Nuclear War. After the United States dropped its first atomic bombs on the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945, the Soviet Union

The Pentagon, near Washington, D.C., serves as headquarters for the U.S. Department of Defense. From here, plans are made to carry out the main duties of the nation's armed forces.

Official U.S. Air Force Photo

rushed to develop a similar weapon, conducting its first atomic test in 1949. The two sides competed for nuclear superiority during the Cold War.

Because of the immense destructive power of nuclear weapons, the United States and the Soviet Union wanted to avoid nuclear conflicts. Therefore, they pursued a strategy called nuclear deterrence. Each nation reasoned that it must keep its nuclear forces roughly equal to the other's to avoid an attack. Thus, the two giants matched one another's improvements in atomic weapons—including the number and power of such arms as well as their delivery systems. The result of the nuclear deterrence strategy was the production of tens of thousands of nuclear devices in both the Soviet Union and the United States. In the 1970s and 1980s, the two superpowers agreed to reduce their nuclear arsenals. Although the United States and Russia signed more arms control agreements after the end of the Cold War, each country still had between 6,000 and 8,000 nuclear devices in 1997.

Defending Allies. After World War II, the United States helped create the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), a military alliance that includes Canada, most western European countries, Greece, and Turkey. During the Cold War, NATO defended western Europe against communist aggression. At the height of the Cold War, the United States had more than 300,000 troops stationed in NATO countries in Europe. By 1997, that number had shrunk to 100,000.

After the collapse of the Soviet-led military alliance known as the Warsaw Pact, many eastern European countries and former Soviet republics wanted to join NATO. The United States and other NATO members offered more than twenty of these countries a "partnership" with NATO in 1993. In 1997, the Clinton administration favored expanding NATO to include several eastern European countries such as Poland, the Czech Republic, and Hungary. These countries are slated to join the alliance in 1999.

Along with protecting NATO members, the United States is also committed by treaty to defend other allies around the world, including Japan, South Korea, and many Latin American countries. About 100,000 U.S. troops are still stationed in Asia.

Use of Force. During the Cold War, the United States wanted to "contain" or limit communist influence and expansion. Consequently, U.S. leaders often used military force to support pro-American governments fighting communist-backed invasions or insurrections. In 1950, when communist North Korea invaded noncommunist South Korea, the United States entered the war as the leader of a United Nations "police force" sent to defend South Korea. In 1954, when communist guerrillas and the army of North Vietnam threatened South Vietnam, the United States began what proved to be a nineteen-year involvement with immense human and monetary costs. Perceptions of a communist threat also led to U.S. military interventions in Guatemala (1954), Lebanon (1958), Cuba (1961), the Dominican Republic (1965), and Grenada (1983).

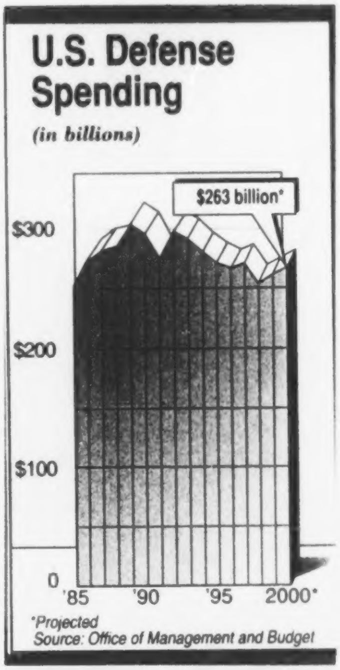
The United States became more reluctant to intervene in foreign conflicts after the Vietnam War. However, when the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan in 1979, U.S. officials renewed their commitment to building a strong military that could protect American interests around the world.

In the fall of 1990, Iraq invaded Kuwait. In a conflict known as the Persian Gulf War, the United States and its allies formed a multilateral (many-sided) armed force of nearly 500,000 troops to force the Iraqi military to withdraw. In February 1991, after six weeks of bombing raids, U.S. forces and their allies met Iraqi invaders on the ground in Kuwait. Within 100 hours, Iraq's forces fled Kuwait, and President George Bush ordered a cease-fire.

MILITARY RESERVE FORCES

The U.S. Military Reserve is made up of about 1.8 million people in the National Guard and Reserve forces of the U.S. Army, Navy, Marine Corps, and Air Force. Reservists are called upon during national emergencies, such as the Midwest floods of 1997, as well as during peacekeeping operations and war. Although they make up 38 percent of U.S. military forces, reservists cost the Pentagon only 7.6 percent of its total budget.

Defense Buildup. The defense policies of the Cold War—nuclear deterrence, protecting allies, and containing communism—required a large military budget. Defense spending reached its peak during Ronald Reagan's presidency, increasing from $180 billion in 1980 to $299 billion in 1988. The U.S. Department of Defense used this money to purchase 90 new warships; 4,000 tanks; and hundreds of modern warplanes. The Pentagon also developed new high-technology weapons such as the MX, Midgetman, and Trident D-5 missiles and the B-1 and B-2 (Stealth) bombers. Reagan also proposed the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI)—commonly known as the "Star Wars" program. A space-based defense system, SDI would guard the United States from attack by long-range missiles. Such a system would track incoming missiles and send rockets to destroy them before they reached their targets.


U.S. Defense Spending

(in billions)

*Projected
Source: Office of Management and Budget

In the 1980s, the U.S. defense budget increased rapidly. However, by 1997, defense spending had decreased to about $270 billion.

A Smaller Defense. With successful multilateral action in the Persian Gulf War and the fall of communism across Europe, the U.S. military searched for a new focus in the early 1990s. Finding a new defense strategy has been a subject of heated debate not just within the Pentagon, but also between Congress and the president.

In 1993, defense planners assessed the nation's security needs. They defined the manpower, hardware, and budget needed to fight two major regional wars at the same time. They then tried to reorganize the U.S. military accordingly. However, this process was complicated by the need to lower the federal budget deficit. In 1993 and 1994, President Clinton reduced the defense budget. His plans emphasized readiness rather than developing new high-tech weapons systems.

However, in late 1994, the reductions in defense spending, coupled with the expenses of peacekeeping operations, began to raise doubts about whether the U.S. military was equipped to fight wars in two theaters. As a result, the Department of Defense received additional funding from Congress to improve military readiness.

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But some lawmakers said the additional money was still not enough. They said that high-tech weapons and equipment were essential to maintain a strong U.S. military. Suggestions included a national missile defense system—similar to the SDI system proposed in the 1980s. Others supported purchasing advanced ships and warplanes or improving long-range weapons and laser technology.

Some of these projects, particularly the development of new warplanes, were approved. However, because overall defense spending remained about the same, the Pentagon planned to pay for them through modest reductions in personnel. Nevertheless, through 1997, the two-war defense strategy continued to frame the budget and organization of the U.S. military.

The War Powers Act. Many senators and representatives do not like using U.S. troops for humanitarian and peacekeeping missions. This issue raises questions about whether the president or Congress has the power to send troops into combat.

The Constitution names the president commander in chief of the military, but gives Congress the sole power to declare war. Since the end of World War II, presidents have often sent U.S. military forces to other countries without Congress declaring war.

In the aftermath of the Vietnam War, Congress passed the War Powers Act of 1973—over the veto of President Richard Nixon. Nixon and subsequent presidents believed that the resolution was unconstitutional and a dangerous limitation of presidential power. This law gave Congress more control over the president's use of troops. It requires the president to advise Congress before sending troops to a potential combat zone, places a time limit on the use of troops without approval from Congress or a declaration of war, and gives Congress the power to order the president to bring the troops home.

The War Powers Act and new kinds of military operations have limited the president's power on some foreign policy issues. For example, in November 1995, President Clinton decided to send 20,000 U.S. troops to the former Yugoslavian republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina as part of a NATO force of 60,000 to enforce a peace agreement ending Bosnia's civil war. Many members of Congress argued that the United States had no national interest in Bosnia and that American lives should not be risked to uphold its fragile peace plan. However, President Clinton indicated he was going to send troops there with or without congressional approval. Stating that they supported the American troops, both houses of Congress reluctantly approved the measure to send U.S. armed forces to Bosnia.

CURRENT ISSUES

A New Defense Strategy? Ever since the collapse of the Soviet Union, defense planners, policymakers, and analysts have debated the nation's military strategy. During 1993, the Pentagon developed the strategy that would enable the United States to fight two regional wars simultaneously. In 1997, the Department of Defense decided to make small cuts in personnel to fund new weapons and equipment. Meanwhile it reasserted the two-war defense strategy and requested additional money to carry out this plan. Some policymakers, however, question whether the United States needs to be able to fight two wars at the same time.

NUCLEAR DETERRENCE OVER NUCLEAR WAR

In 1981, President Ronald Reagan issued guidelines about nuclear weapons strategy. This document stated that the U.S. military must be prepared to win a nuclear war, even though it would probably devastate the world. In 1997, President Bill Clinton ordered that planning for this type of conflict be dropped. Instead, he directed the Department of Defense to target its nuclear forces to deter attacks by other nations with these weapons. Although the new directive recognizes that no nation would be victorious in a nuclear war, the Clinton administration stated that nuclear weapons will form a major component of the nation's defense strategy for the "indefinite future."

In response to the 1997 review, one disappointed analyst said, "It seems we're just layering in technology on old ways of doing business, whereas we may have to do business in new ways." Skeptics of the two-war strategy think that the twenty-first century will more likely bring terrorist attacks, electronic sabotage, or the use of chemical and biological weapons. Critics contend that combating these possibilities depends on stealth, mobility, and more timely intelligence. Instead of preparing for Cold War–style battles with large troop levels and massive numbers of tanks and guns, many experts would rather focus on an even smaller, more agile military. They suggest, for example, keeping enough soldiers and equipment to fight one major war and simultaneously carry out smaller peacekeeping operations. Critics of the current plan believe such a new strategy would result in a substantial savings in the defense budget.

Supporters of the two-war strategy counter that change must be evolutionary rather than revolutionary. They believe it is too risky to drastically reduce and reorganize the armed forces all at once. Secretary of Defense William Cohen said that the current plan "maintains our flexibility to respond to unforeseen challenges." Furthermore, proponents think that the two-war requirement is essential to protect U.S. interests around the world. They argue that the plan signals American military resolve, both in terms of supporting allies and deterring possible enemies.

Humanitarian and Peacekeeping Missions. Throughout the 1990s, the U.S. military has been active in enforcing international law and peace and relieving humanitarian crises in the developing world. To acknowledge its acceptance of this role, the Pentagon added a peacekeeping goal to its mission in 1995. However, some Americans question whether humanitarian relief, peacekeeping, and other "police" functions are responsibilities that the U.S. military should undertake.

Somalia. In December 1992, American armed forces undertook an operation that provoked fierce

Reuters/Stringer/Archive Photos

As part of the African Crisis Response Initiative, U.S. troops have begun training thousands of soldiers in eight African countries in the art of peacekeeping. The goal is to help Africans create a multinational peacekeeping force for their continent.

debate over the role of the U.S. military. More than 25,000 troops were sent to Somalia to ensure delivery of emergency food supplies to ease starvation brought on by civil war. After most U.S. troops had returned home in early 1993, a few thousand remained as part of a United Nations (UN) peacekeeping force. In October 1993, while under UN command, eighteen Americans died in a clash with a Somali militia. That incident led many Americans to question the wisdom of placing U.S. forces under UN command. President Clinton withdrew all American troops from Somalia in early 1994.

Haiti. In 1991, a military coup resulted in the overthrow of Haiti's democratically elected president, Jean-Bertrand Aristide. In September 1994, 20,000 U.S. troops arrived in Haiti to maintain peace while the U.S. government helped organize Aristide's return to power. The military leaders stepped down in October, and Aristide returned to Haiti two weeks later. About 2,500 U.S. troops remained in Haiti until February 1996.

Bosnia. Doubts about peacekeeping missions were again raised in late 1995, when President Clinton ordered 20,000 U.S. troops to Bosnia to help NATO uphold a peace treaty ending Bosnia's three-year civil war. In late 1996, the president pledged to keep U.S. troops in Bosnia as part of a 30,000-strong NATO force through June 1998. However, by December 1997, Clinton had announced that the presence of U.S. troops would be extended. Many Americans believed that the situation in Bosnia was not vital to U.S. interests and did not justify risking American lives.

While some Americans thought the missions in Somalia and Haiti were successful, others criticized the violence and the unclear military objectives of peacekeeping. Moreover, critics estimate that operations in Somalia, Rwanda, and Haiti cost the U.S. military more than $3 billion. To fund these missions, they say that the Pentagon has taken money away from training, maintenance, and new weapons spending. Therefore, they argue that if the U.S. military continues to respond to peacekeeping and humanitarian crises, its long-range readiness and technological superiority will be jeopardized. Moreover, critics say that many regional crises are not crucial to U.S. interests and that they are not worth risking American lives.

However, other policymakers believe that multinational peacekeeping is a valuable tool in containing or stopping future regional conflicts before they become larger. They argue that peacekeeping missions may be a compromise between multilateral invasions and complete inaction. Supporters of peacekeeping missions suggest that new procedures for funding these missions can be established. Moreover, they say that solving humanitarian and political crises is always in the national interest, as the United States is invariably affected by such problems.

THE 1947 NATIONAL SECURITY ACT

The 1947 National Security Act acknowledged the need for increased coordination among the different areas of the United States military. This law, in effect, created three separate independent services—the U.S. Army, Navy, and Air Force. In the decades that followed, each branch created its own overlapping capabilities. For example, each service now has air attack planes or helicopters. One suggestion for reorganizing the armed forces is that all like functions be grouped together, thus rooting out redundancies and saving money.

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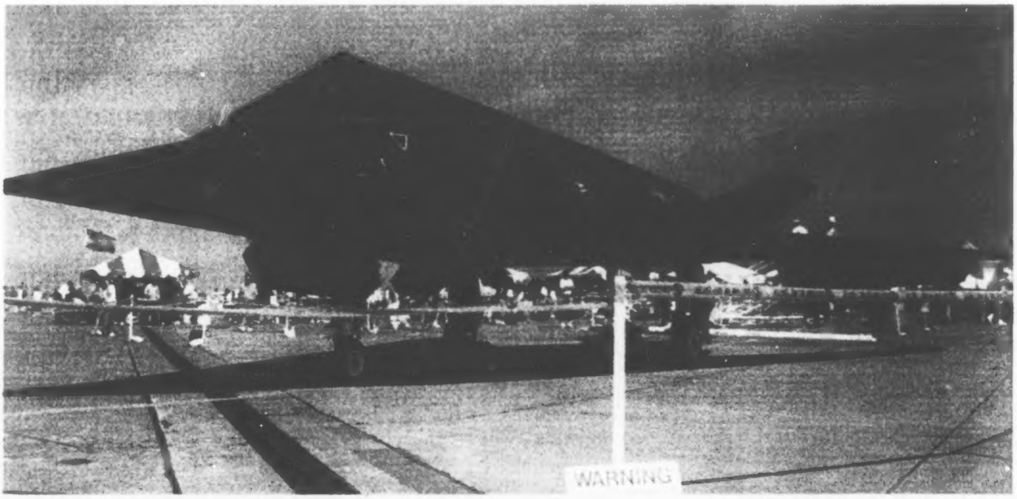
Investing in Traditional High-Tech Weapons. Some military leaders have stated that reductions in the defense budget have jeopardized the technological superiority of the U.S. armed forces. They claim that the money earmarked for new weapons development and procurement had to be reallocated to pay for unforeseen humanitarian and peacekeeping missions. Without the newest technologies, defense planners argue that the long-term strength of American forces is in doubt. Consequently, many members of Congress support the modernization of traditional U.S. military equipment and weapons systems. Proposals that enjoy widespread support are the development of new high-tech warplanes, helicopters, tanks, and ships. Such equipment will require hundreds of billions of dollars over the coming decades.

Supporters argue that modernizing traditional equipment will provide the strongest possible base for national security well into the twenty-first century. Using the latest technology, new warplanes, tanks, and ships will be able to move faster, collect more information, and deploy more accurate weapons—advantages that future combat missions will demand. Proponents believe that a major investment now will retain American military



Archive Photos/Crady von Pawlak

Many defense planners think that the U.S. armed forces need to spend additional money on new high-tech weapons and equipment such as this Stealth fighter plane. Others believe such equipment is too expensive.

superiority. Moreover, these new tanks, ships, and planes will save U.S. taxpayers money in the long run because they will deter aggressive nations and help avoid costly wars.

On the other hand, critics think that the nature of war is changing. They suggest that battles of the future will probably be waged with computers, satellites, or laser beams, making traditional weapons such as planes, ships, and tanks practically obsolete. As a result, opponents argue that investing billions of dollars on modernizing such items is wasteful and outdated. They say that computer and satellite technology could be developed for less money and greater utility. Furthermore, critics assert that any additional money should be spent on diplomacy and war prevention, rather than on war-making machinery.

OUTLOOK

Seven years after the end of the Cold War, policymakers remain uncertain about what kinds of battles and operations the U.S. military should prepare for. President Clinton and his foreign policy advisers are faced with two important questions: What will "national security" mean in the twenty-first century, and how should the government organize its defense forces to ensure that security?

Some Americans believe that the defense budget should be increased to pay for the development of new high-tech equipment. Others say that new ships and warplanes may lack utility in the future conflicts. Faced with a reduced defense budget and bitter debates over foreign policy priorities, leaders have found that forging a new direction for the nation's defense is no easy task.

THE DEBATE: DEFENSE

The U.S. military should adopt a new defense strategy.

PRO: The threats to national security in the twenty-first century will likely be terrorism, electronic sabotage, and the use of chemical and biological weapons—threats a two-war strategy cannot conquer. Therefore, the Department of Defense should reorganize to form a smaller, more agile force that could better address these new scenarios. Such a plan would save billions of taxpayer dollars.

CON: It is risky and unwise to drastically reduce and reorganize the nation's defense all at once. Keeping the military at its present size and structure gives the Pentagon the greatest flexibility in responding to events as they unfold. The two-war strategy protects U.S. interests around the world because it demonstrates support for allies and deters possible enemies through a show of strength.

The U.S. military should participate in peacekeeping missions.

PRO: With the end of the Cold War, the U.S. military must prepare to fight limited conflicts in world trouble spots. As the only global superpower left, the United States must use its strength to help the United Nations and other multilateral forces deal with civil wars and human crises worldwide. Such missions, including the peacekeeping operation in Bosnia, are in the U.S. national interest because they assert U.S. leadership and stress global cooperation.

CON: American troops should not be the "global police force," nor should they become part of a multilateral army. Instead, the United States should maintain a military force adequate to defend its national security, and no more. Committing forces to regions of the world that are embroiled in civil war would lead to a long-term U.S. military presence in those countries as well as American casualties. Such missions would also cost money when the budget should be decreased.

The United States should invest in traditional high-tech weapons.

PRO: Investing in updated warplanes, helicopters, tanks, and ships would prepare the United States for combat in the twenty-first century. These items would have the latest technology for fighting new kinds of threats. If the United States does not invest in these new technologies and equipment, its military superiority will be jeopardized. This perceived weakness could lead to war and greater costs later.

CON: The nature of war is changing, and traditional weapons such as tanks, ships, and tactical airplanes will not be necessary in the coming decades. Future defense concerns will be better countered through the use of computers, satellites, and laser beams. Such technologies will have greater utility and cost American taxpayers less money. Any excess investment in defense would be more wisely spent in diplomacy.

DEMOCRACY AND HUMAN RIGHTS

In recent years, democratic governments have emerged in many new countries. In 1998, there were 117 democratic governments, more than twice the number of democracies in the 1970s. As democracy has spread, so too have its basic values of human dignity and equality.

World leaders have signed a number of agreements about the fundamental rights of every human being. At the same time, some countries have continued brutal human rights violations. In recent years, the world has witnessed genocide during wars in Bosnia and Rwanda as well as political executions in China. Even under democratic governments, individual rights are not always fully respected.

For decades, policymakers in the United States have promoted democracy and human rights around the world. However, the degree to which these objectives are in the United States' national interest is a matter of debate. Should human rights in other countries be a top foreign policy priority of the United States? Should American officials send troops to encourage democracy overseas? While U.S. leaders want to promote democratic governments, they must also protect other vital interests, such as maintaining beneficial economic and diplomatic relationships.

KEY QUESTIONS

- Should U.S. foreign policy focus on protecting human rights?
- Should American troops promote democracy in other nations?
- Should the U.S. military pursue alleged war criminals?

BACKGROUND

Democracy Around the World

Democracy and U.S. Interests. The United States is the oldest continuous democracy in the world today. Throughout much of the twentieth century, U.S. leaders have promoted democracy around the globe. They have supported fair and free elections in other countries because such elections are beneficial to U.S. national interests, such as security and trade.

Because their leaders are elected by the people, democratic governments are often more politically stable than dictatorships. Such leaders often share American values and are eager to become military allies of the United States. In addition, democracies are not imperialistic; they tend to respect the national borders of other countries. Thus, the United States is safer from military attack if there are more democratic nations.

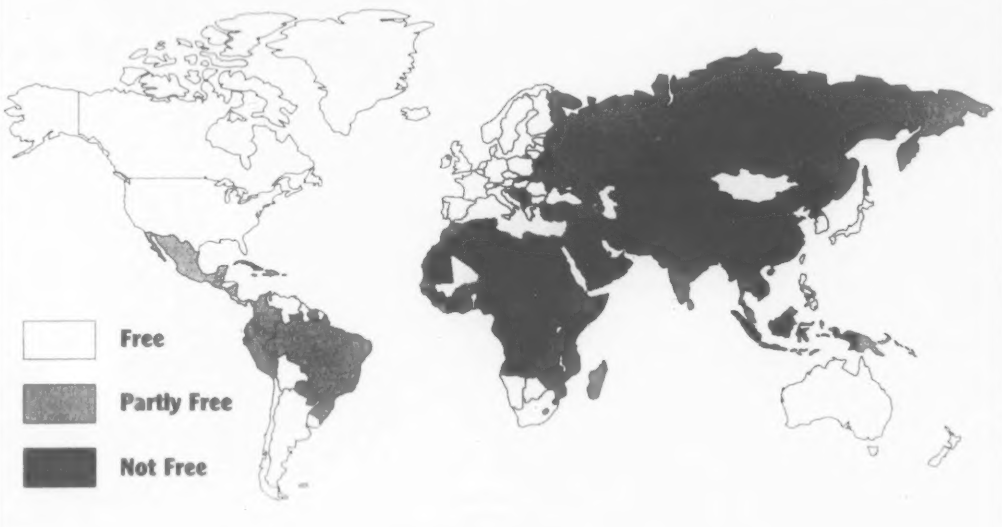
Democracies usually have free-market economies; that is, their economies are controlled by the forces of supply and demand, not by their governments. Because the U.S. economy is so large, other free-market countries want to trade goods and services with the United States. Many economists assert that greater international trade—especially increases in U.S. exports (sales) to other countries—improves the American economy.

Finally, democratic nations often share American ideals. Elected officials tend to permit more individual freedoms, such as freedoms of expression and religion. As these ideals take root in more countries, U.S. leaders believe that the American way of life is more secure. Therefore, U.S. officials believe it is important to support and promote democracy.

The Spread of Freedom. Although the United States was founded on the principles of individual liberties, more than 150 years passed before those freedoms were granted to everyone in American society. Only after freeing its slaves and granting suffrage to women could the United States truly be called the "Land of Liberty." Some argue that, even today, the United States needs to work on ensuring equality and freedom for all. Similarly, it has taken centuries for democracy to spread around the world, and even within democratic countries individuals enjoy freedom and equality to varying degrees.

Empires Collapse. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, France, Germany, Great Britain, Holland, Portugal, and Spain established colonies in Africa, Asia, Latin America, and the Middle East. From the late nineteenth century through the mid-twentieth century, European powers began to lose or give up control of those colonies. (That trend began earlier in the nineteenth century for Spain's colonies in Latin America.) One reason for the end of European imperialism

Map of Freedom



Source: Freedom House, New York, N.Y.

In the map shown here, "free" countries have democratic elections and a broad range of individual and press freedoms. "Partly free" countries have restricted elections and personal freedoms. Those elections may be unfair or dominated by a single party, or the judicial systems may not be entirely just. Nations marked "not free" do not have elections, and individual liberties are severely limited.

was the high cost of maintaining and administering these territories. After World War II, the international community's support for "self-determination"—the belief that a country should have the ability to govern itself without outside control or interference—further diminished colonial power.

After gaining independence between the 1950s and 1970s, most former colonies aligned with either the United States or the Soviet Union. These years were the height of the Cold War, when the United States and the Soviet Union were vying for world influence and power. Some new nations sided with the West and formed democratic governments. Examples include Botswana and Mauritius in Africa, India and Malaysia in Asia, and several Caribbean nations.

Among these newer democracies, however, citizens have a broad range of electoral and personal freedoms. For example, Malaysia's political system is dominated by one political party, and the Malay government restricts the freedoms of speech, press, and public assembly. Thus, democratic elections do not always lead to full freedoms.

The Fall of the Iron Curtain. With the end of the Cold War and the breakup of the Soviet Union in 1991, the "Iron Curtain" that separated eastern and western Europe fell, and so did the political distinctions between democratic countries in the West and socialist countries in the East. Many former Soviet republics, including Russia and Ukraine, and eastern European countries, such as the Czech Republic, Hungary, and Poland, have held democratic elections and are converting to market economies.

The fall of the Soviet Union also had a ripple effect outside Europe. New democracies emerged in Mongolia in Asia and Benin, South Africa, and Zambia in Africa. Today, almost all Latin American countries have democratically elected governments. Once again, however, those citizens sometimes have limited electoral and personal freedoms. For example, although Mexico holds multiparty elections, for decades before a historic 1997 election, one political party dominated.

Several Latin American governments also censor the press.

The end of the Cold War and decolonization have resulted in an unprecedented number of democracies worldwide. In 1998, there were 117 democratic governments, more than double the number in the 1970s. Nevertheless, most governments in Africa and the Middle East and many in Asia still do not hold free elections or honor individual rights.

The U.S. Role in Democratization. For many years, U.S. leaders have promoted democracy in other countries. During the Cold War, American policymakers focused on containing authoritarian communist governments and supporting democracy among U.S. allies. Since the breakup of the Soviet Union in 1991, U.S. interests are no longer threatened by communism. American leaders have exerted their influence using a variety of tools, including close diplomatic ties, military alliances, trade, foreign aid, and—if necessary—military intervention.

Haiti. In some situations, American leaders have sent U.S. troops to support democracies in other countries, particularly in the Western Hemisphere. In 1994, American troops were sent to Haiti to help restore that country's democratically elected president, Jean-Bertrand Aristide, to power. While U.S. forces were on the way to Haiti, its military leaders, who had seized power from Aristide in a 1991 coup, agreed to step down. American troops remained in the Caribbean nation until 1996 as part of a United Nations (UN) force to ensure a peaceful transition back to democracy. A newly elected president, René Préval, took office in 1996. However, when UN troops left Haiti in November 1997, the government and economy remained weak and reports of human rights abuses continued.

Bosnia. A three-year-long war in the former Yugoslavian republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina prompted U.S. military intervention in 1995. In December of that year, President Bill Clinton sent 20,000 U.S. troops to Bosnia as part of a 60,000-strong NATO force. Their duty was to enforce the Dayton Accords, a U.S.-

brokered peace plan. The presence of U.S., Russian, and NATO troops helped Bosnians to vote peacefully in a national election in September 1996 and in local elections in 1997. However, on-site observers think the elections were not entirely free and fair.

In addition, questions of justice have arisen. By late 1997, the United Nations war crimes tribunal had indicted seventy-four people for human rights violations in the Bosnian war, including ethnic cleansing and genocide. Only about twelve of the indictees, however, had been arrested. For those in custody, the slow process for prosecuting suspects also frustrated victims and their families. Some foreign policy experts question whether the rival ethnic groups will be able to live together in peace if those guilty of wartime atrocities are not punished promptly.

Human Rights

What Are Human Rights? The term "human rights" incorporates a broad range of ideas that are often

ARTER CENTER
CIL OF PRESIDENT
PRIME MINISTER

AP Photo/Bebeto Matthews

An important first step toward building democracy is holding free and fair elections, complete with international observers. Foreign monitors help deter fraud, increase public confidence in the election, and bring legitimacy to the winners. Shown here are former U.S. president Jimmy Carter (left) and Colin Powell observing Jamaica's elections in 1997.

described in four categories. Most central are the rights that protect an individual's security. Governments should protect citizens from genocide; slavery; torture; cruel, degrading, or inhuman punishment; arbitrary arrest or imprisonment; denial of fair trial; and invasion of their homes. Human rights also encompass people's ability to fulfill their basic human needs, such as food, clothing, shelter, education, and health care. Furthermore, there are civil and political liberties, including freedom of speech, press, association, and the freedom of movement within and to and from a person's country. Finally, there are human rights laws pertaining to freedom from discrimination on the basis of race, color, ethnic origin, religion, social status, and gender.

Human Rights Documents. To avoid repeating the tragedies of World War I and World War II, many of the world's leaders met in 1945 to create the United Nations. In doing so, they assessed their core values on human dignity and rights. Since then, the United Nations, many regional organizations, and individual countries have developed statements calling for the protection of the basic rights of every person.

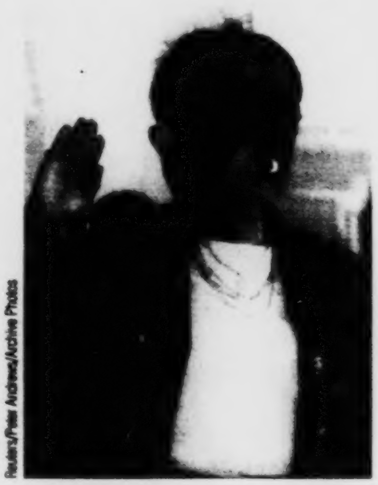
The first global human rights documents were the UN Charter, approved in 1945, and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, approved by the United Nations in 1948. A centerpiece of global human rights legislation, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights is largely based on the U.S. Bill of Rights, Britain's Magna Carta, and France's Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen. Other important human rights documents include the Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, and the International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights, both approved by the United Nations in 1966. These documents form the basis of international law that protects human rights in all countries that have signed them.

Human Rights Activism. As the number of democratic countries and human rights laws have grown, concern for such rights around the world has also increased. Human rights advocates have created a number of nongovernmental organizations, such as Amnesty

International and Human Rights Watch, which publicize rights violations and encourage concerned governments and individuals to pressure the offending governments to improve their human rights records.

At one time, human rights was considered a matter of internal governmental policy. Today, many foreign governments claim a legitimate right to pressure other countries about violations. Human rights have gained credibility as a foreign policy issue because of improved global communications and the large increase in international trade and investment over the last thirty years.

Linking Human Rights and Trade. One of the biggest human rights showdowns in recent years occurred between the United States and China. China's human rights violations are an especially thorny problem for American policymakers because China is a large country with a booming economy. The conflict between U.S. business interests in China and the American value of individual liberty is a classic case of competing concerns in foreign relations.



Reuters/Peter Andrews/Archive Photos

South Africa's system of racial discrimination called apartheid bred many human rights abuses by both blacks and whites. In 1997, South Africa held hearings by its Truth and Reconciliation Commission. Winnie Mandela (shown here), the former wife of President Nelson Mandela, faced accusations of involvement in at least thirteen murders. She denied any role in the killings.

In 1989, President George Bush decided to renew a special trading privilege called "most favored nation" (MFN) trade status for China. With MFN status, Chinese goods carry reduced tariffs upon entering U.S. ports. Therefore, with MFN, Chinese goods are less expensive and thus more attractive in the American market. Human rights activists criticized this decision because it came soon after China's military attack on prodemocracy demonstrators in Beijing's Tiananmen Square.

In the early 1990s, human rights organizations discovered that Chinese prison labor was being used to make goods for export to the United States. In addition, the U.S. State Department reported that China continued its unfair judicial procedures and mistreatment of political dissidents. Therefore, in 1994, President Bill Clinton threatened to revoke

China's MFN trade status unless its human rights record improved.

Chinese leaders vehemently opposed linking trade with human rights, an issue it considered a domestic matter. American business interests also opposed the link because they feared that Beijing would retaliate and cut off U.S. investment in China's growing economy. Human rights organizations supported Clinton's policy. However, after heated exchanges between U.S. and Chinese leaders, President Clinton softened his stance on Chinese human rights violations. He stated that the prison labor issue was resolved and that further human rights concerns would be handled separately from trade issues. Accordingly, China's MFN status was renewed in June 1994. Since then, it has been renewed every year through 1997.

Democracies and Human Rights. The violation of human rights is not limited to authoritarian governments like that of China. There are many countries that hold relatively free and fair elections for federal and local officials while restricting some fundamental democratic rights and liberties. For example, several

In November 1997, the Chinese government released a prominent political prisoner, Wei Jinsheng. Since first calling for democratic change in 1979, Wei had spent all but six months in prison or labor camps. Exiled and seeking medical treatment in the United States, Wei hopes one day to return to China.

Reuters/Dennis Owen/Archive Photos

CAMBODIAN GENOCIDE

Between 1975 and 1979, at least one-sixth of the Cambodian population—about 1 to 2 million people—died during the brutal tyranny of Pol Pot and his communist group, the Khmer Rouge. While at least 100,000 victims were killed outright for "crimes" against the regime, the rest died of starvation and disease. In 1979, Vietnam seized the capital of Cambodia, and Pol Pot was exiled to remote jungles with his Khmer Rouge followers. However, in 1997, Pol Pot was charged with treason by the Khmer Rouge and placed under house arrest. Human rights groups had hoped that he would be turned over to a United Nations tribunal to face charges of crimes against humanity. But before he could be brought to justice, Pol Pot died of a heart attack in April 1998.

Latin American countries had long periods of military rule between decolonization and democratization. Therefore, aspects of military rule continue in some democracies in the region. Rights groups claim that law enforcement officials in several Latin American countries execute people without giving them trials and illegally hold people in jail (called detainees) without charges.

CURRENT ISSUES

Human Rights and U.S. Foreign Policy. Although human rights now attract worldwide attention, many Americans disagree about whether the U.S. government should make human rights a central issue in its foreign policy. Protecting human rights was a priority during the presidency of Jimmy Carter. However, President Carter was criticized for emphasizing what many thought was idealism over realism in international relations—a dilemma U.S. policymakers continue to grapple with today.

Many Americans believe that freedom is a universal right of all human beings and that U.S. foreign policy must reflect values such as individual liberty, equality, and justice. Moreover, some observers warn that the freedoms of the United States and its allies cannot be secure in a world where freedom is threatened everywhere else. Thus, they argue that U.S. stability will be enhanced if more countries grant their citizens greater freedoms. Supporters of a foreign policy that emphasizes human rights believe that the U.S. government should condemn, and take some form of action against, any government that uses terror or brutality, even if that country has otherwise friendly relations with the United States.

Critics of this approach say the United States should not pursue policies based primarily on morality. They contend that U.S. leaders have to be pragmatic and work with all economically and militarily powerful countries. Therefore, policymakers must place other practical issues, such as trade and security, ahead of human rights. For example, many think the United States cannot afford to be too critical of China's human rights policies because Chinese leaders, if pushed too hard, could threaten U.S. allies in Asia with military action and restrict U.S. access to their lucrative market. Furthermore, many experts believe that if American leaders pressure an ally with a less-than-perfect human rights record to adopt a democratic form of government, they risk seeing a more repressive government take over and make conditions worse, not better. Critics claim that the United States has a stronger national interest in building beneficial economic relationships than in forcing countries to become democratic, and that these strong economic ties will eventually bring about democratic change.

UNCOVERING THE TRUTH IN GUATEMALA

Guatemala, a Central American country, was engulfed by a violent civil war between 1957 and 1996. When Guatemalan leaders signed peace accords ending the war, they agreed to create a truth commission to investigate hundreds of massacres and thousands of other human rights violations that occurred during the conflict. The Clinton administration supported the peace process and donated $1 million to the commission. Advocates hope the truth commission, scheduled to conclude in 1998, will bring resolution to a tragic period and enable Guatemalans to build a lasting peace.

U.S. Troops and Democracy. Recent U.S. military efforts in Haiti and Bosnia have triggered debate among policymakers. Although the UN mission in Haiti concluded in 1997, the international effort to help build democratic institutions there was largely unsuccessful. In late 1997, President Bill Clinton announced he was

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STOP CHILD
LABOUR..

Reuters/Sunil Malhotra/Archive Photos

Child laborers often work under slave-like conditions and get paid little money. In October 1997, the United States passed a law banning the importation of goods made with child labor. However, experts believe that Indian rugs made by children will probably still enter the U.S. market. India has the highest number of child laborers in the world in spite of national laws against it.

extending the U.S. military presence in Bosnia beyond the originally planned June 1998 exit date. However, many Americans wonder how long it will take to build peace and democratic institutions in Bosnia and whether those goals can ever be achieved.

Some believe that the U.S. military should protect democratic allies to enhance American security. Supporters assert that military intervention is essential to stop the rule of dictators who overthrow democracies and ignore the outcomes of elections. They contend that the missions that have had the greatest success are those in which a large military force had the support of most local people and acted swiftly to defeat the dictator. Under such circumstances, supporters argue that U.S. military action can successfully promote democracy and the rights of individuals.

Critics think that American troops should be used only in situations that threaten the national security of the United States. They say that authoritarian

A PERMANENT WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL?

Today's war crimes courts derive from the United Nations War Crime Tribunal at Nuremberg, Germany, where many of those responsible for the Holocaust and other crimes against humanity were tried after World War II. Currently, the United Nations creates tribunals to deal with specific wars. However, some policymakers favor the creation of a permanent International Criminal Court (ICC) to address crimes against humanity with consistency and efficiency, hoping to deter would-be war criminals and reaffirm the international community's intolerance for atrocities. In 1997 and 1998, representatives from hundreds of countries and nongovernmental organizations met to craft international laws supporting the ICC.

governments in small countries such as Haiti do not threaten the safety of the United States. Moreover, they add that such missions are expensive and dangerous and require a long-term U.S. commitment. Instability in these countries sometimes requires democracy-building missions to be extended, which in turn leads to rising costs for the United States.

Capturing War Criminals. The rules of war are governed by international law. When individuals commit grave offenses against the laws of warfare, those acts are known as war crimes. In recent years, war crimes—particularly crimes against humanity—have become international concerns. Nationalist wars in Bosnia-Herzegovina and the central African country of Rwanda have been characterized by "ethnic cleansing" and genocide. In Rwanda, approximately 800,000 people were killed during two months of 1994; most were members of the Tutsi ethnic minority. Some Bosnian leaders of the Serbian ethnic group have been accused of systematically trying to rid the nation of Muslims through detention camps and mass executions during the years of conflict.

In 1993, the United Nations set up a tribunal, or international criminal court, to hear cases against alleged war criminals in Bosnia. The UN also set up a similar court for Rwanda's war crimes. In 1997, the International Court of Justice for Bosnian war crimes gained stature, partly because the court began hearing evidence against a Croatian general, the highest official to be tried so far. In addition, in three separate operations in 1997 and early 1998, British, Dutch, and U.S. troops captured alleged war criminals. However, observers criticized the tribunal for not arresting the highest-ranking suspects, who are believed to have planned and ordered mass executions. These include Radovan Karadzic, former leader of the Bosnian Serbs, and Ratko Mladic, Karadzic's former military chief.

Some military officials have proposed creating a special international police force to pursue suspected war criminals and bring them to trial. Supporters think that U.S. troops should participate in such a force to help further justice and peace. They argue that catching and trying war criminals would help improve relations among ethnic groups in warring countries because trials pin the blame on certain people, not whole ethnic groups. Proponents say that fair trials and justice would reduce the likelihood of revenge killings and renewed warfare. They also contend that war criminals must be tried swiftly and publicly to prove the international community's support for human rights

Reuters/Peter Andrews/Archive Photos

In 1997, the United States approved a $400 million program to train and equip Bosnia's mainly Muslim army (shown here). Part of the training includes instruction in the international rules of war. Policymakers hope the lessons will avert future atrocities and end the cycle of blood and vengeance.

laws and to discourage leaders from carrying out such atrocities in the future.

Opponents of this approach counter that high-ranking war criminals frequently have well-armed bodyguards and followers. They believe that such criminals do not threaten national security and are not worth risking American lives. Beyond capturing war criminals, in most cases, witnesses fear testifying against those suspects, and establishing guilt in a court of law is very difficult. As in the case of Rwanda, capturing war criminals has resulted in more tragedy because potential witnesses have been killed to silence them. Consequently, opponents argue that detaining war criminals, particularly high-ranking ones, actually increases the chances of renewed fighting and violence.

OUTLOOK

For decades, American policymakers have promoted democracy, but today's human rights abuses remind them that a viable democracy should honor individual liberties—not just allow democratic elections. In addition, those governments must have fair judicial procedures. The dilemma for U.S. policymakers is that protecting human rights does not always coincide with promoting other interests, such as trade. While many American leaders remain committed to the ideals upon which their country was founded, they also believe that they must balance those ideals with present-day realities, such as economic interdependence and national security.

THE DEBATE: DEMOCRACY AND HUMAN RIGHTS

U.S. foreign policy should focus on protecting human rights.

PRO: The United States was founded on the principles of liberty, equality, and justice; those values should guide its foreign policy. To gain the support of the American people, U.S. foreign policy must also reflect their most deeply held beliefs. When foreign countries abuse the rights of their citizens, the world is not safe for other democratic countries. Similarly, when more people in more countries gain additional freedoms, the United States will be more secure.

CON: Morality alone cannot drive today's complex international relations. There are many issues besides human rights that policymakers must consider, such as trade and national security. If the United States pushes its undemocratic allies toward freedom too fast, a more repressive government could take over. In addition, by maintaining good relations with undemocratic allies, the United States might be able to persuade leaders to give their citizens more freedom.

American troops should be used to promote democracy in other nations.

PRO: When dictators or military rulers overthrow elected leaders, U.S. armed forces should intervene to protect a democratic ally and its people. Having more democratic allies around the world enhances U.S. security and the economy. U.S. businesses can export more goods and services to such allies, thereby creating more American jobs.

CON: Dictators do not necessarily threaten U.S. security, and such interventions are costly and dangerous. Building democracies in other countries takes years. World leaders have had to extend peacekeeping missions, resulting in increased costs. Yet some missions have not yet been able to create stable democracies that protect individual rights.

The U.S. military should pursue alleged war criminals.

PRO: The United States and other countries must take a stand against those who plot, order, and carry out atrocities. Otherwise, would-be war criminals will think they can get away with such human rights violations in the future. If U.S. troops helped arrest suspected war criminals and bring them to trial, people in countries shattered by civil war and suffering would more likely find peace.

CON: Sending U.S. troops to capture suspected war criminals is a dangerous operation against people who do not threaten the national security of the United States. Besides, it is difficult to convict and sentence war criminals because people fear testifying against them. Arresting suspected war criminals might result in murders of witnesses and the possible renewal of warfare.

THE GLOBAL ENVIRONMENT

Many Americans first became concerned about the environment in the 1960s and 1970s. Pollution was causing health problems, killing fish and wildlife, and making the air in American cities unhealthy. Congress responded by passing laws to clean up polluted lakes and rivers, protect plant and animal species, and improve air quality.

During the 1980s, Americans recognized that protecting the air and water were also global concerns; they began to look at environmental problems beyond U.S. borders. Scientists discovered that pollution in one country could affect the environment in neighboring countries—indeed, around the world. They also discovered that certain chemicals were destroying Earth's protective ozone layer, allowing dangerous ultraviolet rays from the sun to penetrate the planet's atmosphere. Some experts warned that carbon dioxide released from factory smokestacks and cars might be causing Earth's temperature to rise. This "greenhouse effect" could cause coastal flooding, drought, and unusual climate patterns.

KEY QUESTIONS

- Should the United States ratify the Kyoto global warming treaty?
- Should more nuclear power plants be built?
- Should governments raise water prices to avoid shortages?

In the past twenty years, environmentalists have argued that such environmental problems demand strong and decisive international solutions. Most nations have cooperated in negotiating treaties to protect Earth, its wildlife, and its natural resources. However, critics contend that these treaties have hindered both domestic and international economies. Environmentalists argue that regulations should not be weakened but, in fact, strengthened. As countries around the world develop their economies and increase international trade, the debate over how to reduce the effects of economic expansion on the environment continues.

BACKGROUND

Dangers to the Environment

Environmentalists are concerned with issues ranging from pesticide use to rising global temperatures. Many problems stem from local environmental abuses, such as factories that dump hazardous materials into nearby streams, thereby harming wildlife and threatening the health of the people who use those waterways for food, drinking water, and irrigation. Local environmental issues can quickly become worldwide concerns as rivers cross borders and polluted air drifts into the atmosphere. Environmentalists encourage people to "think globally, act locally"—to tackle problems at their source and thus avoid global disasters. Others insist that solutions to environmental problems must be economically, as well as environmentally, sound.

Global Warming. During the twentieth century, the level of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere has risen dramatically, causing what some call a "greenhouse

According to environmentalists, global warming has caused Alaska's Bering Glacier to shrink about forty feet during the twentieth century. Melting glaciers may cause sea levels to rise, contributing to extreme weather conditions. Skeptics argue that the sea level has not changed in the 1900s and that the ice sheets in Antarctica and Greenland are actually growing.

Greenpeace/Beltra

effect." Sources of excess carbon dioxide include emissions from automobiles, factories, and power plants. Many scientists believe that a layer of carbon dioxide and other "greenhouse gases" traps the sun's heat like glass in a greenhouse, thereby raising the temperature of the atmosphere and perhaps leading to serious environmental problems.

According to scientists at the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA), temperatures just a few degrees higher than normal would partially melt polar ice caps and flood coastal areas, turn productive farmland into desert, and alter weather patterns around the world. Some experts predict that by 2100 world temperatures could increase by three or four degrees Fahrenheit.

The decade of the 1980s was the warmest on record. Despite a slight cooling in 1992 and 1993, global temperatures have increased since 1994. By the mid-1990s, scientists were able to develop computer models that could replicate and explain temperature changes around the world. These models have convinced many scientists that human activities have contributed to global warming. However, scientists disagree on how warm the planet will eventually get and what the consequences will be.

Ozone Depletion. Ozone is a thin protective layer of specialized oxygen molecules in Earth's atmosphere that shields the planet from the dangerous ultraviolet rays of the sun. Research has shown that increased exposure to ultraviolet radiation from the sun weakens the human body's immune system, causes skin cancer and eye damage, and destroys crops and microorganisms. Scientists at the United Nations Environment Program have been concerned about damage to the ozone layer since the 1970s. In 1985, a study by the British Antarctic Survey revealed that the depletion of ozone over Antarctica left a hole in the ozone layer at certain times of the year.

Scientists believe that man-made chemicals called chlorofluorocarbons (CFCs) destroy Earth's ozone layer. CFCs were commonly used in cleaning solvents, as propellants in aerosol spray cans, and as coolants in refrigerators and air conditioners. In 1989, under the Montreal Protocol, forty-six countries, including the United States, agreed to eliminate the use of these chemicals.

Acid Rain. In the northeastern region of the United States and in Canada, as well as in many parts of Asia, air pollution has led to highly acidic rainfall. Although the causes of acid rain are disputed, most scientists believe that it results from the transformation of sulfur dioxide and nitrogen oxide (released by power plants, factories, and automobiles) into sulfates and nitrates. When combined with moisture in the air, sulfates and nitrates become acids and fall to Earth as acid rain. Acid rain increases the acidity of soil, streams, and lakes, making them less habitable for plants and animals. U.S. law now requires electrical utilities to reduce the total levels of sulfur dioxide and nitrogen oxide that they release by more than 10 million tons by 2000.

Nuclear Waste. The radioactive fuel used in nuclear power plants creates nuclear waste. The production and disarmament of nuclear weapons also generates hazardous nuclear waste. Nuclear materials are generally highly toxic and take thousands of years to lose radioactivity. The problem is how to safely dispose of nuclear waste. If the waste is buried in cans, the cans might someday leak radioactive material into the soil and the water table. Dumping nuclear waste containers in the ocean presents a similar problem. Although experts have developed disposal technology, there are no guarantees that nuclear waste will never pollute the environment. Today, highly radioactive nuclear waste from weapons production and disarmament remains in temporary storage awaiting the construction of permanent depositories.

ENVIRONMENT-FRIENDLY AUTOMOBILES

In the push to combat global warming, U.S. automakers are exploring new technologies to reduce nitrogen oxide emissions and improve fuel efficiency. Both Ford and Chrysler have pledged to lower emissions levels in the 1999 models of popular sport utility vehicles. General Motors expects to mass-produce midsize cars that get 60–80 miles per gallon by 2001. Scientists have also begun developing electric fuel cells that are powered by gasoline. Researchers expect that this breakthrough could pave the way for high-mileage, low-emission electric cars that owners could refuel easily at gas stations.

Widespread interest in reducing greenhouse gas emissions has promoted alternative natural energy sources. Here, a field of windmills uses the wind to generate electricity.

R. Norman Matheny/Christian Science Monitor

Overpopulation. Birthrates are declining around the world, largely because of widespread access to contraception, education about family planning, and the improved status of women in many societies. Nevertheless, about 400,000 children are born each day. Experts believe that the world's population, now around 6 billion, will surpass 9 billion by 2050. Already, Earth's resources strain to meet the needs of much of the population. For example, in parts of Asia, limited fresh water supplies are used simultaneously as water sources and sewage systems. Tropical rainforests in Asia and South America are clear-cut and burned to make way for fields and cattle ranches to support the growing agricultural needs of the expanding population. Many people believe that curbing population growth is a key part of relieving the strain on the environment.

Major Environmental Treaties

Beginning with conventions, or agreements, on nature protection and wildlife preservation in the 1940s, world leaders have met over the years to negotiate international treaties addressing a wide variety of environmental problems. While governments have realized that global cooperation is necessary to protect Earth, some countries seem better equipped than others to make changes that benefit the environment. Wealthy nations can better afford to develop new, environmentally safe technologies. In recent years, world leaders have struggled to construct international laws that place equal responsibility on all countries without stifling economic growth in developing nations.

The Montreal Protocol. In the 1980s, worldwide concern about the growing hole in the ozone layer prompted leaders from many nations to meet and discuss ways to repair the damage. In 1985, the United Nations (UN) committed to protecting the ozone. On January 1, 1989, the United Nations Montreal Protocol on Substances that Deplete the Ozone Layer was formally enacted by forty-six nations. The governments whose leaders signed the protocol agreed to reduce, and eventually eliminate, the use of ozone-depleting chemicals in their countries.

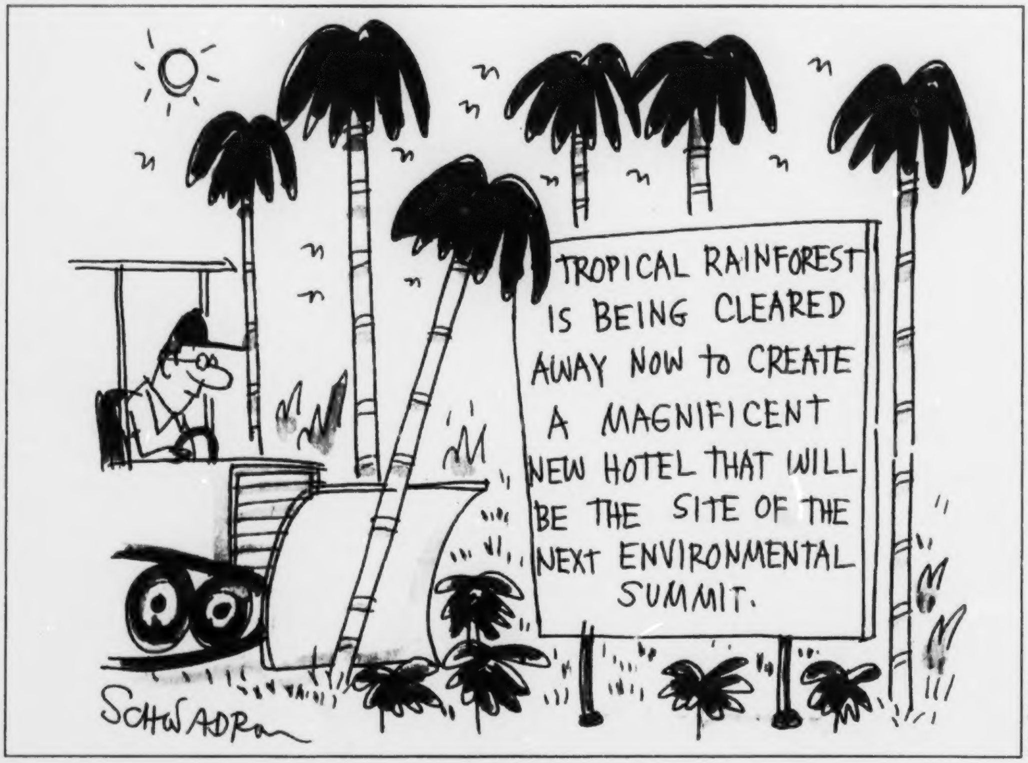
The Montreal Protocol had to be flexible if it was to accommodate the needs of both industrialized countries and developing nations. Therefore, the agreement was written so that it could be amended easily as new scientific research emerged. By 1998, 161 nations had agreed to conform to its standards.

After ten years of continued ozone loss, the levels of CFCs in the atmosphere started to decline in 1995. Scientists estimate that if countries continue to follow the Montreal Protocol, the ozone layer might begin to mend by 2005.

The Earth Summit. In 1992, world leaders met in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, to attend the UN Conference on Environment and Development, the largest environmental conference in history. At the "Earth Summit," participants signed agreements on three important environmental issues: biological diversity, climate change, and sustainable development.

First, the Convention on Biological Diversity obligated the signing governments to protect plants and animals. The Convention stressed the importance of preserving species that are useful to humans so they will continue to be available. The Convention also emphasized the right of individual nations to determine which species were most important to their environments and economies.

Second, the Convention on Climate Change concentrated on stabilizing greenhouse gas emissions. The Convention stated that the absence of full scientific evidence of global warming theories should not be reason to postpone reducing emissions. It built on the goals of the Montreal Protocol by targeting gases not controlled by the earlier treaty and by urging developed countries such as the United States to take the lead in combating climate change. Similar to the Convention on Biological Diversity, the Convention on


TROPICAL RAINFOREST IS BEING CLEARED AWAY NOW to CREATE A MAGNIFICENT NEW HOTEL THAT WILL BE THE SITE OF THE NEXT ENVIRONMENTAL SUMMIT.
SCHWADRON

Harley Schwadron

Climate Change recognized the right of individual nations to develop their own plans for reducing emissions.

Third, Earth Summit participants accepted a set of guidelines, known as Agenda 21, that set goals for sustainable development—economic and industrial growth that both meets the needs of the growing population and protects nature's ability to renew itself. Agenda 21 resulted in the development of a global network of organizations committed to researching and resolving conflicts in economic development and environmental preservation.

Five years later, in 1997, world leaders reconvened in New York for Earth Summit II to evaluate their progress. They found that, although many countries have developed special councils and policies, established protected areas, and begun monitoring greenhouse gas emissions, environmental practices have not generally improved since the first Earth Summit. Some environmentalists claim that the conventions of the Earth Summit are too weak. Others have said that the problem lies not with the agreements but with the absence of enforcement mechanisms. Some critics cite the lack of technology available for developing new manufacturing processes that would prevent further damage to the environment.

ENVIRONMENTAL EDUCATION

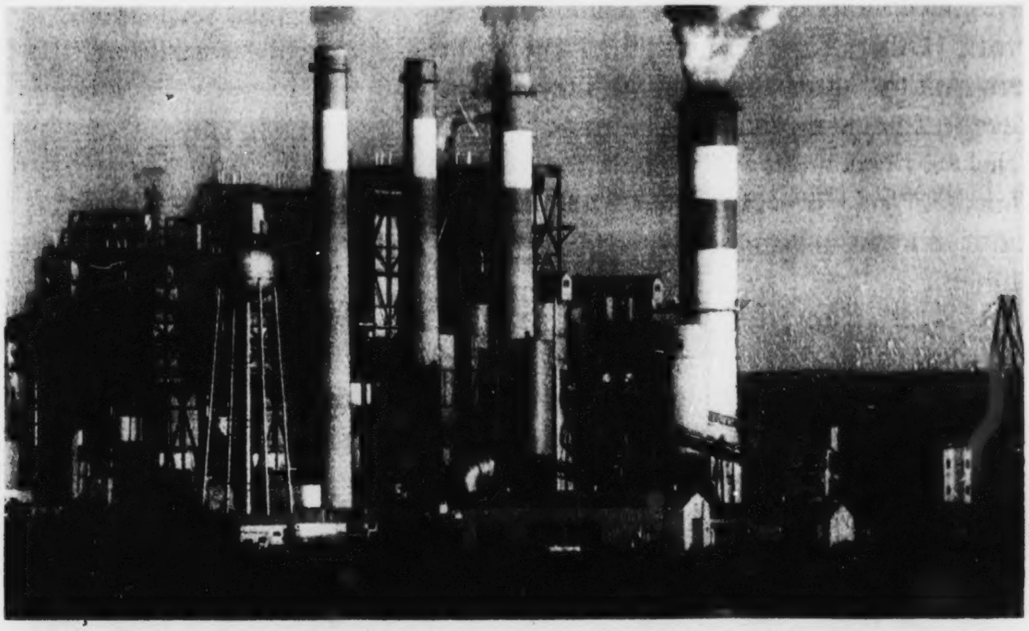
Almost thirty years after the first Earth Day celebration, environmental education has become common in American classrooms. Schools in thirty-one states are required to explain environmental issues to students in every grade level. Environmentalists are pleased because children who are taught about conservation and recycling in the classroom are likely to take action outside of school. Critics argue that environmental education is full of faulty science, giving children only doomsday versions of environmental issues.

The Kyoto Protocol. In December 1997, more than 160 nations met in Kyoto, Japan, and negotiated a legally binding, internationally enforceable protocol to the 1992 Convention on Climate Change. The Kyoto Protocol states specific goals for individual nations. Under the new treaty, thirty-eight industrialized countries, including the United States, would be required to lower emissions of six ozone-damaging greenhouse gases by 2012. On average, nations would reduce emission levels by 5 percent. However, the Kyoto Protocol does provide countries with some flexibility in the form of "offshore" reductions. Under this provision, countries that cannot meet their own emission goals can make a deal to "buy" the excess reductions of nations that are doing better than required. The protocol also addressed developing nations that are major producers of greenhouse gases, such as China and India. These countries would be asked to set voluntary reduction targets.

The Kyoto Protocol has not yet taken effect. The document was opened for signatures in March 1998 and will remain open for one year. The treaty will be implemented once it has been ratified by fifty-five nations who contribute at least 55 percent of the world's carbon dioxide emissions. It is legally binding on individual countries only after it has been ratified by their governments.

CURRENT ISSUES

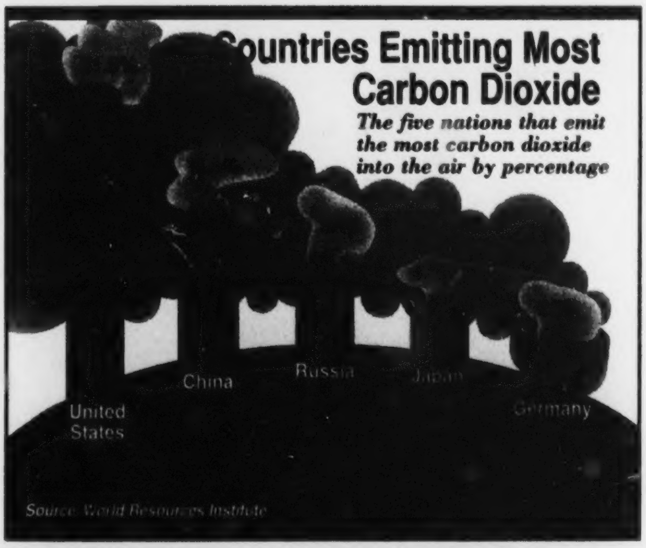
The United States and the Kyoto Protocol. The 1997 Kyoto Protocol requires all industrialized nations



EPA-DOCUMERICA-Boyd Norton

Factories that burn fossil fuels, such as this one, emit a mix of chemicals into the atmosphere, among them carbon dioxide. Some scientists have theorized that a buildup of carbon dioxide in Earth's atmosphere could cause global warming.

to significantly change their industrial methods and, perhaps, their citizens' ways of life. While many European nations seem committed to the protocol, the United States has been a dissenting voice. President Bill Clinton supports the treaty's objectives. However, the U.S. Senate, which must ratify all treaties, has been heavily lobbied by oil, coal, and auto industry leaders against approving the Kyoto Protocol. These industries oppose the treaty because it does not require developing nations to cut back their emissions as heavily as the industrialized nations must.


Countries Emitting Most Carbon Dioxide
The five nations that emit the most carbon dioxide into the air by percentage
United States
China
Russia
Japan
Germany

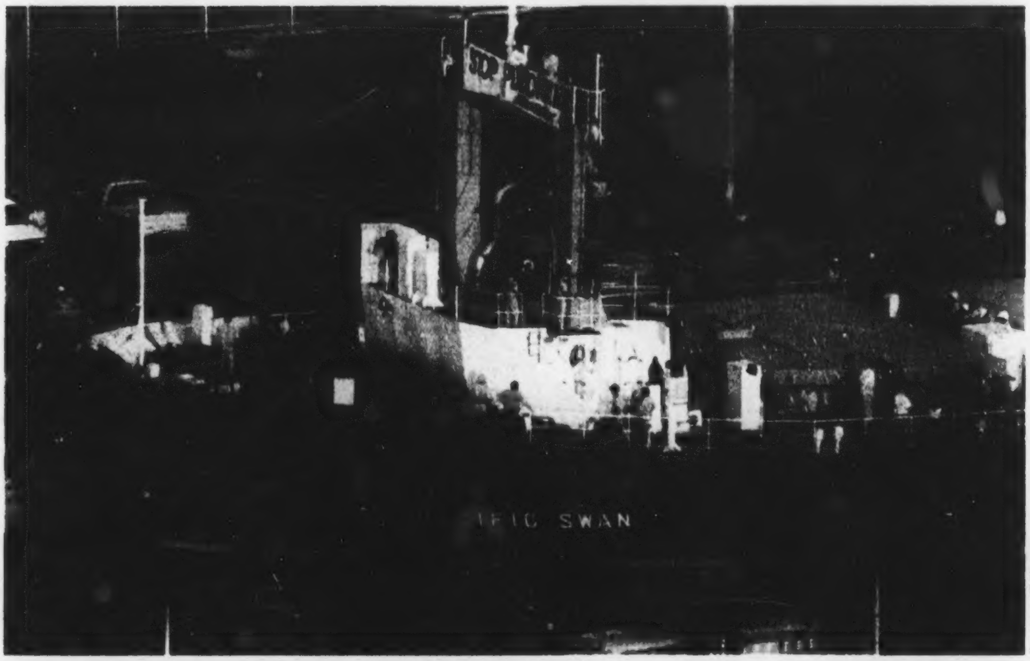
Source: World Resources Institute

The United States leads the world in the emission of greenhouse gases.

Some environmentalists believe that the Kyoto Protocol will never go into effect if the United States refuses to ratify it. The treaty requires signatures from developed countries whose combined emissions total at least 55 percent of the world's greenhouse gases. The United States alone is responsible for 38 percent of the industrialized world's emissions; therefore it is unlikely that the treaty could be enacted without U.S. ratification. For these reasons, whether or not the Senate ratifies the Kyoto Protocol is of enormous importance to the future of the treaty.

Supporters of the treaty claim it is premature to insist that developing nations commit to the same emissions standards as industrialized countries. First, they say, developed countries need to take meaningful steps to reduce their own emissions. Environmentalists point out that after the Montreal Protocol, when industrialized countries first developed cost-effective ways of reducing ozone-depleting emissions, emerging nations were quick to acquire the new technologies rather than fall further behind international standards. Furthermore, proponents believe that enacting the Kyoto Protocol would touch off a new wave of technological innovations. They say that thousands of jobs would be created in the push to develop "green" industrial methods.

On the other hand, critics of the Kyoto Protocol say that the cost of developing and implementing new technologies would be prohibitive not only for industries but also for individual citizens. Some experts project that much of the economic burden of reducing emissions would be felt at the household level in the form of increased energy bills, higher gasoline prices, and rising costs of manufactured goods. Big industries, they insist, would take advantage of lax emissions standards in developing nations and move their factories overseas, thereby costing Americans jobs. Opponents maintain that if emerging nations are not required to participate fully in cutbacks, then worldwide



Greenpeace/Beltra

In February 1997, this ship carried radioactive nuclear waste from France to Japan. Environmental activists sneaked aboard the ship while the crew was sleeping and hung a banner that said "Stop Plutonium" from the ship's mast.

emissions will not be reduced at all, only shifted from developed to developing countries.

Nuclear Energy. Based on current rates of population growth and industrial expansion, experts believe that the world's demand for energy will increase by 50 percent in the next twenty-five years. Recent concern about global warming has prompted world leaders to consider energy sources that do not send pollutants into the atmosphere. For decades, nuclear power has been one of those sources of clean energy in most industrialized countries. Some scientists, believing that nuclear power is safer for the environment, now suggest building more nuclear reactors to replace emissions-producing energy sources.

Critics of this plan cite accidents at nuclear power plants at Three Mile Island in Pennsylvania (1979) and Chernobyl in the former Soviet Union (1986) as evidence that nuclear power is dangerous. At Three Mile Island, severe environmental damage was avoided because the reactor was equipped with a containment facility that kept radioactive materials from being released. However, the power plant is now thoroughly contaminated; no one can go near it and it cannot be destroyed. At Chernobyl, no containment facility existed. The reactor exploded, spreading radioactive fallout for miles, making the land uninhabitable and contributing to rising cancer rates in much of Europe. Opponents of nuclear energy contend that, despite safety precautions, accidents like these could happen again. They insist that new nuclear reactors not be built. Some even believe that existing nuclear power plants should be closed down.

Advocates of nuclear energy point out that approximately 400 nuclear power plants have been operating around the world for a combined total of more than 6,000 years. Only once, in Chernobyl, has there been an accident that caused public harm or environmental damage.

THE END OF THE NUCLEAR ERA IN SWEDEN

Shortly after the near-meltdown at Three Mile Island in Pennsylvania in 1979, voters in Sweden passed a referendum agreeing to gradually shut down all twelve of that country's nuclear power plants. The phaseout will eliminate more than half of Sweden's established electricity sources and replace them with solar and hydropower, making Sweden the first country to abandon nuclear energy. In 1998, nearly twenty years after the referendum, the Swedish government shut down the first reactor. Many citizens still approve of dismantling the plants. However, others warn of a sharp rise in electricity costs and an increase in Sweden's already high unemployment rate.

AP Photo/Mary Ann Chastain

Environmentalists claim that popular irrigation methods waste water and destroy natural ecosystems. Many have suggested that the low cost of water encourages farmers to over-irrigate their fields.

In the event of a malfunction, the Chernobyl reactor had no means of preventing radioactive material from being released into the atmosphere. Since then, other reactors like the one in Chernobyl have been modified to prevent similar accidents. According to industry leaders, nuclear energy is not only safe, but actually environmentally friendly. Unlike coal-, gas-, and oil-fired power plants, nuclear reactors do not burn anything and therefore release no carbon dioxide into the atmosphere. Increased reliance on nuclear energy, advocates say, could reverse the global warming trend.

Water Subsidies. All life on Earth depends on the availability of clean water. Humans and animals must drink to live; plants need water to survive. In many places, however, fresh water is scarce. The world's fresh water supply is provided by the hydrologic cycle, the weather system that causes sea water to evaporate, form clouds, and return to Earth as rain. Countries with arid climates—much of North Africa and the Middle East, as well as parts of the United States, Europe, and Asia—routinely face severe water shortages. To deal with such shortages, national and local governments have commonly constructed dams to store water and dug canals and built aqueducts to transport the water to where it is needed. The people who use the water then pay a fee to their government to cover these expenses.

Many environmentalists think that some water shortages could be avoided if governments managed their water resources better. In particular, they point out that more than two-thirds of the world's water supply is used for irrigating crops. Many governments help farmers keep overhead costs low by subsidizing, or charging less for, irrigation water than for water used for other purposes. In some countries, water is almost free to farmers. Solving the problem of a diminishing fresh water supply, according to environmental advocates, requires that governments stop subsidizing crop irrigation.

Supporters of this policy claim that heavy irrigation subsidies encourage farmers to use more water than they need to keep their crops healthy. The excess water runs off the fields, carrying pesticides and fertilizers into lakes and rivers, or evaporates when delivered by sprinkler irrigation systems Environmentalists contend that asking farmers to pay the real cost of the water they use will provide incentive to irrigate more conservatively. In addition, proponents believe that higher water prices would prompt advances in irrigation technologies, thereby providing new jobs and strengthening the economy.

Critics say that ending irrigation subsidies would touch off a crisis in farming that would ultimately be felt by everyone. Governments subsidize water because it is an essential element of farming. Because governments are able to keep farming costs low, they are also able to keep food prices low. If farmers were forced to pay full price for water, they would not be able to make any profit from selling their crops at current prices. Therefore, food prices would go up and all consumers would be affected.

OUTLOOK

Virtually every American wants clean water and air, the maintenance of natural ecosystems, and the preservation of Earth's atmosphere—but many only want this at a limited cost. The American public is sometimes reluctant to agree to international laws that might limit business or raise prices of consumer goods in the United States. Consequently, the global campaign for stricter environmental standards has faced strong opposition. Some Americans think that many environmental regulations are unnecessary, reduce productivity and jobs, and often do not accomplish what they set out to do. However, dangers to the environment—both at home and abroad—still exist. In deciding whether to support international laws, the American public and government must balance the potential harm to the environment with the economic benefits of fewer international standards.

THE DEBATE: THE GLOBAL ENVIRONMENT

The United States should ratify the Kyoto Protocol.

PRO: The United States should prove that it is committed to preventing global warming by ratifying the Kyoto Protocol and dropping its objection to lesser requirements for developing nations. Acceptance of the treaty would push industries to develop environmentally friendly technologies, thereby creating thousands of new jobs. Once the technology becomes available, developing countries will join industrialized nations in reducing worldwide greenhouse gas emissions.

CON: The United States should not agree to bear more than its share of the burden in reducing global warming. Developing "green" technologies would cost more than most industries could afford to pay. Higher manufacturing costs would result in higher prices for consumers. Furthermore, big industries might move their operations to countries with looser emissions standards. Emissions would not be reduced after all, just shifted from industrialized to emerging nations.

More nuclear power plants should be built.

PRO: The public is unnecessarily nervous about nuclear energy. Despite thousands of years' worth of combined use, nuclear power generators have caused environmental damage only once. Since then, nuclear reactors have been modified so similar accidents can be avoided. In addition, nuclear power is cleaner than energy sources that burn fossil fuels, making it a good alternative in the fight against global warming.

CON: The accidents at Three Mile Island and Chernobyl proved that nuclear reactors are dangerous. The reactor at Three Mile Island is now useless and highly poisonous. The Chernobyl disaster has made the surrounding countryside uninhabitable and has increased cancer rates across Europe. More nuclear reactors should not be built. In fact, the nuclear plants now in operation should be shut down.

Governments should raise water prices to avoid shortages.

PRO: Access to artificially cheap water encourages farmers to irrigate their fields more than is necessary. The excess water carries pesticides and fertilizers into the fresh water supply, killing fish and polluting drinking water. Having to pay the real cost of water will persuade farmers to irrigate more responsibly. Higher water prices will also provide incentive for developing better irrigation technologies, thereby creating jobs and eliminating water shortages.

CON: Ending irrigation subsidies will hurt not only farmers but also consumers. Because governments subsidize water prices for farmers, they are able to keep food prices low for consumers, even when crops are damaged by unusually bad weather. If the government allows farmers' overhead costs to go up, food prices will have to go up as well for farmers to earn a profit. All consumers would be hurt by having to pay more to feed their families.

INTERNATIONAL TRADE

Trade is a cornerstone of international relations in the 1990s. The end of the Cold War opened the way for increased cooperation among nations, creating new economic partnerships.

Trading goods and services with other nations is vital to the U.S. economy. Many members of Congress and most economists believe that free and open trade is the key to a prosperous global economy. Free-trade advocates supported congressional approval of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) in 1993 and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) in 1994.

However, many Americans think that the United States should not trade freely with nations that abuse human rights, pollute the environment, or put U.S. goods at a disadvantage in their marketplaces. Some experts argue that new free-trade agreements will increase the U.S. trade deficit—the amount by which the country's imports exceed its exports. In addition, they say that if sales of U.S. goods overseas decline, thousands of domestic manufacturing jobs may be lost forever. Some Americans support a protectionist policy of imposing tariffs (taxes on imports) and quotas on foreign goods to reduce imports and protect jobs in the United States.

KEY QUESTIONS

- Will free trade cause a loss in the number of U.S. jobs?
- Should the United States continue to grant China MFN trade status?
- Should the U.S. government try to manage trade?

However, free-trade proponents say protectionism will harm both the U.S. and global economies. The effects of free-trade pacts like NAFTA and GATT on jobs and wages will test the claims of Americans on both sides of the issue.

BACKGROUND

Trading with the World

Why Do Nations Trade? When a country tries to produce most of the goods and services its people require, its economy grows at a slow rate. Faster economic growth occurs when a country exports its most plentiful or most easily produced goods to other nations and imports goods that other nations can produce more efficiently.

Most countries have a particular strength or comparative advantage—such as natural resources, climate, skilled labor, or technical superiority—that enables them to make certain products at a lower cost than other countries. Comparative advantage allows each country to profit by trading the goods it produces most efficiently for goods other countries make more efficiently.

For example, in the nineteenth century, Great Britain, with its factories, was the world's most efficient manufacturer of textiles, while Portugal, with its ideal climate and fertile soil, produced fine wines. By concentrating resources on what each did best and by exchanging these products, the two countries had all the wine and textiles they needed, plus money left over to make or buy other goods. In this way, trade boosts a country's standard of living.

Protectionism. Free trade, or trade without restrictions, has been rare in the world marketplace throughout most of the twentieth century. Most countries adopt at least some protectionist measures such as tariffs and quotas to protect certain industries or to encourage consumers to buy domestic goods. Tariffs are taxes on imports that increase the price of foreign-made products. Quotas limit the amount of specific products that can be imported. Ideally, these trade barriers, which are measures enacted to protect jobs in newly formed or struggling industries, are temporary.

Most economists agree that trade barriers result in higher prices for domestic products because domestic companies no longer need to keep prices low to compete

Statistics show that American investment in a foreign country leads to greater U.S. exports to that nation. Here, a U.S. fast food restaurant in Japan may be making headway in the quest for increased sales of U.S. goods and services in Japan.

PANA

with imports. If consumers have to spend more money on one product, they have less to spend on other products. This trend can lead to unemployment in other domestic industries.

Protectionist measures are risky because the economies of the world are interconnected, or interdependent. If nations set up trade barriers, an escalating series of retaliatory tariffs and quotas—a trade war—could result, possibly leading to economic problems in many countries.

Trade Wars and the Great Depression. The last major trade war occurred in the 1930s. Many historians blame the U.S. Congress for touching off the trade war when it passed the Hawley-Smoot Tariff Act in 1930. This act greatly increased tariffs on all goods imported into the United States. Other nations retaliated by raising tariffs on American goods. Prices increased for almost everything bought and sold around the world. International demand for foreign-made products plummeted because of the high prices, causing entire industries to shut down. The trade wars of the 1930s thus deepened the effects of the Great Depression.

U.S. Trade Policy

American Trade Leadership After World War II. Following World War II, the United States provided economic and technical assistance to Europe and Japan and encouraged the nations of western Europe to coordinate their trade policies. In 1957, six nations in western Europe created the European Economic Community (or EC, for European Community). The EC abolished import restrictions between member countries and established some common terms for marketing their products outside Europe. With the passage of the Treaty on European Union in 1993, the EC changed its name to the European Union (EU).

In the postwar world, U.S. companies expanded international trade by selling their goods and opening factories overseas, especially in Latin America, parts of Europe, and the Middle East. By opening factories overseas, these multinational corporations took advantage of lower labor costs and created new markets for American consumer goods. The new factories provided foreign workers with jobs and therefore the money with which to buy U.S. products.

Encouraging International Trade. During the 1940s, leaders of the international community negotiated two agreements to encourage world trade.

Bretton Woods. Because each country has a different form of currency, international trade can be very complicated. When countries buy and sell goods from one another, they need to know how much their currency is worth in another country. For example, how many French francs would 100 U.S. dollars be worth? Exchange rates determine the value of one country's currency in another country. If a country has a favorable exchange rate with the United States, U.S. dollars will be worth more (will buy more goods) in that country than if the exchange rate were unfavorable. In 1944, forty-four Western nations met at Bretton Woods, New Hampshire, to establish a fair way of determining worldwide exchange rates.

Under the Bretton Woods system, exchange rates between foreign currencies were fixed

International Copyright Laws

U.S. industry leaders have become very concerned about the piracy of American intellectual property—especially CDs and CD-ROMs—overseas. Prominent software companies estimate their losses at $11 billion worldwide. Analysts believe that 99 percent of the personal computers in Vietnam, for example, are operating on pirated software. U.S. trade officials are pressuring foreign governments with trade sanctions, and one international antipiracy group, the Business Software Alliance, is giving cash rewards for information leading to the prosecution of software pirates.

Great Britain GBP
Japan

Close Up Foundation/Renée Bouchard

Currency exchange rates change daily in part because of variations in the strength of each nation's economy and political system. When a manufacturing company decides to build a factory in a foreign country, it must buy some of that country's currency to support its business there. This kind of investment adds to the value of the foreign country's currency.

against the value of the American dollar. The system worked well at first because the U.S. economy was much stronger than the other economies of the world. However, after a few years, the economies of other nations grew and the relative value of the U.S. dollar went down, throwing the Bretton Woods system out of balance. Therefore, in 1971, the system was reformed into a floating exchange system, whereby the values of currencies relative to one another are free to change daily. In a floating exchange system, the value of a country's currency reflects the health of its economy.

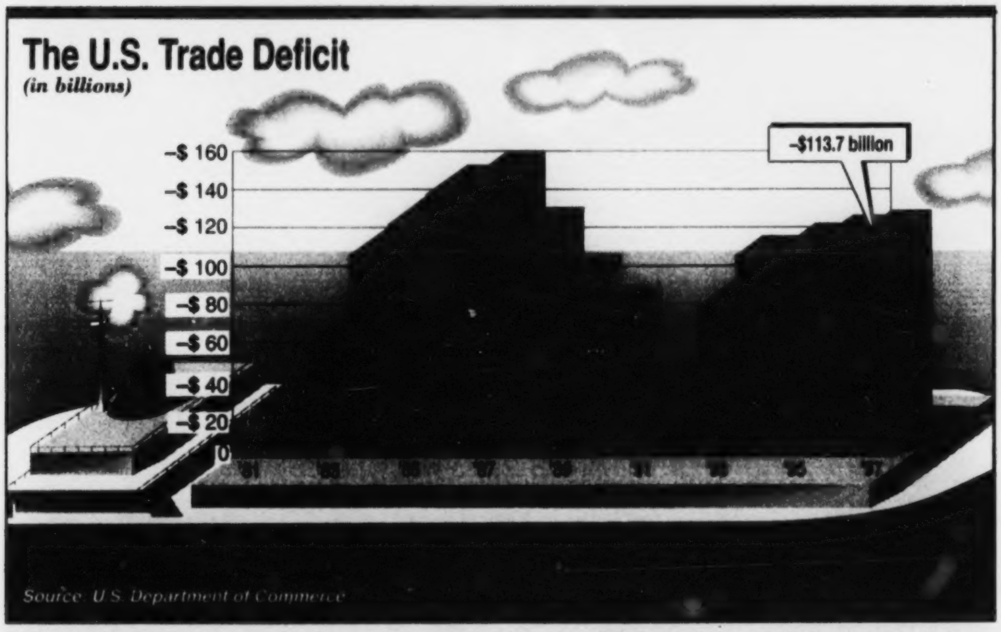
GATT. In 1947, twenty-three noncommunist nations signed the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, establishing a code of conduct for trading nations. Under the provisions of GATT, nations have sought to increase world trade by reducing tariffs and other barriers.

In 1993, 123 nations took part in GATT talks. Meetings of GATT members provide a continuing international forum for nations to discuss trade issues. These meetings, called "rounds," have produced important trade agreements. The Kennedy Round (1967) and the Tokyo Round (1979), for example, resulted in substantial worldwide tariff reductions. In 1993, after seven years of negotiations in the Uruguay Round, GATT members approved a sweeping new trade accord that eliminated import tariffs on thousands of products, phased out quota systems, and established a new global organization called the World Trade Organization (WTO) to settle trade disputes. Many trade experts believe that the existence of the WTO has encouraged nations with trade disputes to settle their differences instead of resorting to trade warfare.

The United States and World Trade Today

The Trade Deficit. Since the mid-1970s, the United States has imported more goods than it has exported. The trade deficit total (including goods and services) grew to $113.7 billion in 1997. Most economists believe that the trade deficit has caused hundreds of thousands of job losses in, for example, the steel, automobile, and textile manufacturing industries.

Economists point to several reasons for the growing trade deficit. Some U.S. trading partners limit the amount and kinds of U.S. goods they will allow into their markets. The trade deficit has also increased because


The U.S. Trade Deficit

(in billions)

–$113.7 billion

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce

The United States has not had a trade surplus since 1975. Today's $114 billion trade deficit results primarily from a $56 billion trade deficit with Japan (mostly motor vehicles) and a $37 billion trade deficit with China (primarily textiles and clothes).

American consumers buy more goods made overseas rather than buying similar goods produced in the United States. In response to growing concern about the trade deficit, Congress passed the Trade Act of 1988, which requires the president to limit imports from countries that do not give American exports the same treatment as those foreign products receive in the United States.

U.S. Trading Relationships. In the 1990s, the United States government further expanded its trading relationships with nations around the world. Officials are hopeful that these agreements will succeed in promoting economic prosperity and spur other countries to enter similar agreements.

The European Union. Throughout 1992 and 1993, U.S. and European trade officials continued the Uruguay Round of GATT talks in hopes of finalizing a new world trade agreement. In December 1993, negotiators from the United States and Europe broke a deadlock over agriculture and other trade issues and approved the biggest free-trade agreement in history.

North American Free Trade Agreement. In January 1994, the North American Free Trade Agreement went into effect. Under NAFTA, Canada, Mexico, and the United States are gradually eliminating barriers on farm products and manufactured goods and removing restrictions on "cross border" investments.

Many observers agree that since NAFTA was enacted, the overall effect on the U.S. economy has been minimal. Although some factories have moved their operations to Mexico, many Americans have gained employment due to a rising demand for U.S. exports. As the long-term effect of NAFTA on the U.S. economy becomes clearer, it could determine whether the United States will pursue trade agreements with other countries in the future. For example, by 2005, U.S. officials have pledged to form a "Free Trade Area of the Americas" agreement with countries in Central and South America. If the economic effects of NAFTA in the next few years are positive, lawmakers may favor this and other similar agreements.

Trade with Japan. Tensions between the United States and Japan intensified in the 1990s because of Japan's trade advantage over the United States—nearly $56 billion in 1997. Some Americans believe that this imbalance exists because the Japanese impose strict trade barriers to keep foreign goods out of their market.

In October 1994, Japan agreed to open its market to more U.S. companies, including the insurance, telecommunications, and medical equipment industries. In 1995, U.S. and Japanese trade representatives reached an agreement designed to increase Japanese consumer access to U.S.-made cars and car parts. In 1997, the United States and Kodak, an American photography supply manufacturer, went before the World Trade Organization charging that Japan had unfairly blocked Kodak film from the Japanese market. Despite new trade agreements and reduced tariffs, they said, many Japanese markets remain effectively closed to American imports. U.S. trade officials argued that Japan protects its domestic markets with discriminatory practices resulting from the strong ties between Japanese manufacturers, distributors, and government officials. The WTO ruled in favor of Japan, noting that Kodak has been able to penetrate some Japanese markets. However, some U.S. lawmakers advocate imposing trade barriers on Japanese products if Japanese leaders do not fully implement the new trade agreements and further open their market to U.S. goods.

CURRENT ISSUES

Free Trade and U.S. Jobs. Nations that trade goods have one primary goal: economic improvement. A country becomes more prosperous as more of its available workers are employed. Therefore, policymakers and economists look to the unemployment rate as one indicator of the health of the U.S. economy. Free trade's effect on the number and quality of U.S. jobs is a matter of debate among many lawmakers and economists.

NAFTA SUPERHIGHWAY

Since NAFTA took effect in 1994, American contractors and developers have tried to persuade Congress to finance a highway connecting Canada and Mexico through the Midwest region. The proposals have varied from upgrading existing roads to constructing a huge new interstate outfitted with fiber optic lines to warn travelers of traffic or weather-related problems ahead. Supporters of the superhighway expect that U.S. trade with Mexico will double by 2010. Opponents claim that so far, NAFTA has not resulted in enough financial gain for the United States to justify the cost of a new road.

Opponents of NAFTA, GATT, and other free-trade agreements argue that they will result in a substantial loss of American jobs, particularly in low-technology manufacturing. They say that recent trade treaties encourage American businesses to move their factories to Mexico, where employees work for less money. Critics contend that as low-skilled jobs disappear, unskilled and poorly educated U.S. workers often cannot find new jobs. These workers usually cannot afford retraining to enable them to move to higher-skilled jobs, and must often rely on the government for unemployment assistance. Moreover, many analysts argue that losing low-skilled manufacturing jobs also worsens the gap in wages between middle- and lower-income people, contributing to greater economic and social inequality in the United States.

Proponents of free trade contend that liberalized trade policies actually improve the number and quality of American jobs. Although some U.S. industries may lose some low-skilled jobs, many authorities say that free-trade agreements boost U.S. exports, thereby creating many more U.S. jobs than are lost by importing foreign goods. Moreover, many of the newly created jobs are in high-tech fields where American workers can make more money. Supporters say that expanding free-trade agreements to areas in South America, East Asia, and Europe will generate hundreds of thousands more jobs in the United States.

EXICO
MPORT
URGE
SAVE FLORIDA FARMS

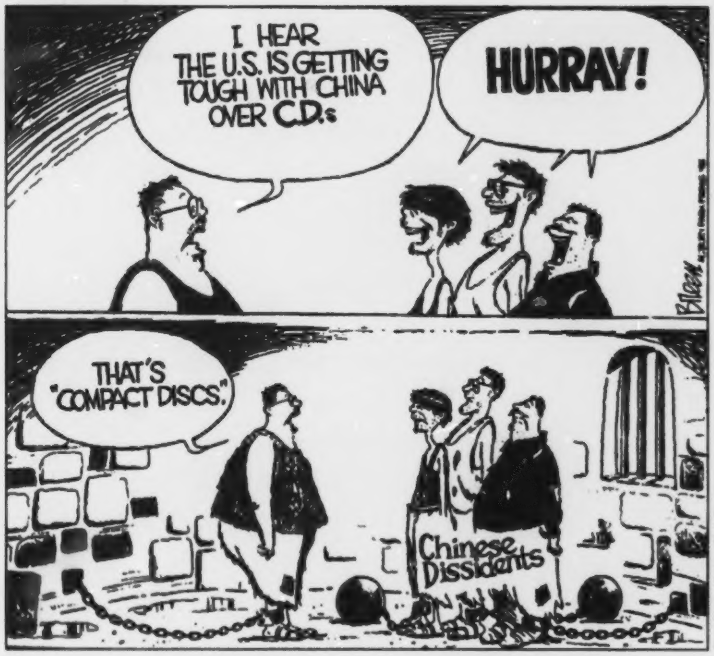
Some American farmers say that the low prices of imported foods from Mexico are hurting their farms. Here, a Florida farmer puts up a sign in a pile of string beans during a farm rally.

AP Photo/Rick Bowmer

Trade with China. Although reducing the trade deficit with Japan is a priority for U.S. lawmakers, many believe that the widening trade gap with China will be the greatest problem facing American industries in the next century. Many economists believe that as China's manufacturing sector modernizes and its population continues to grow, it will likely become an even more powerful world trading force. In 1997, China exported nearly $50 billion worth of goods to the United States, including clothing, toys, and electrical machinery. Meanwhile, U.S. exports to China—such as agricultural products and airplanes—totaled only about $13 billion.

The trade gap with China is tied to other foreign policy concerns, as well. Many U.S. lawmakers are disturbed by China's mistreatment of political dissidents, poor working conditions, and religious persecution. In addition, the United States has sanctioned several Chinese government-run companies that are known to sell chemical-weapons materials to Iran. Since 1995, Congress has threatened trade sanctions against China if its leaders did not stop the piracy of intellectual property—music recordings, videos, and computer software—copyrighted in the United States. U.S. trade representatives claim that piracy in China costs American businesses about $1 billion annually in lost sales.

The United States annually reviews its trading relationship with China and decides whether to renew its most favored nation (MFN) status. Nations with MFN status are granted reduced tariffs on the goods they sell in the United States. Some lawmakers believe that the U.S. government should revoke China's MFN status until it improves its trading practices and its human rights record. However, U.S. companies are eager to do business in China because of the potential size of its market for American-made goods and services. In 1993, President Bill Clinton promised to link China's MFN status to its human rights record. But a year later, after little improvement, he delinked them in order to maintain normal trade. Although Congress has renewed China's MFN status every year, the issue has remained controversial.



Steve Breen/Asbury Park Press

Many lawmakers and human rights advocates believe that the United States needs to be tougher on China. Proponents of revoking MFN status believe that the Chinese government has not lived up to its promises to improve trade relations and its human rights policy. They claim that China exploits the U.S. marketplace at the expense of American industries. Many Americans say that implementing trade barriers against Chinese goods would force China's government to open its market if other nations followed the United States' lead. Some people also believe that the U.S. government could use trade sanctions to force the Chinese government to improve its human rights record.

Supporters of renewing China's MFN status say that revoking it would jeopardize more than 200,000 American export-industry jobs and sacrifice America's place in the huge Chinese market. Trade restrictions could provoke China—and perhaps other nations—to retaliate by buying fewer American-made products and erecting more trade barriers of their own. Consumers in the United States would then be the ultimate losers because they would have to pay more for foreign-made goods. Human rights advocates also argue that continued Chinese access to Western goods and services could make its citizens more open to accepting democratic ideals.

Managed Trade. Many Americans believe that a policy of managed trade would better serve the U.S. economy. Under managed trade, the federal government would make more decisions about what U.S. industries produce, how much they export, and with whom they trade. Proponents of managed trade argue that the current system allows foreign countries to unfairly keep U.S. goods out of their markets. Many countries, including Japan, have adopted forms of managed trade that help their own industries export products to the United States.

Advocates of a managed trade policy say the U.S. government should help its promising industries export their products by giving them money for high-tech research or by repealing laws that prevent American companies from cooperating with one another. In addition, the government can aid U.S. exporters by negotiating agreements with other countries. Supporters of managed trade believe that these agreements would open foreign markets to American goods in exchange for U.S. commitments to lower trade barriers for foreign goods.

FAST TRACK DERAILED

In 1997, President Clinton asked Congress to renew presidential "fast track" authority in negotiating trade agreements with other countries. With fast track authority, the president can draft a trade plan with another country and present it to Congress. Congress then votes to approve or disapprove the agreement, but they are not able to make any changes to the plan. Supporters say that fast track was beneficial to the United States in the past because its trading partners did not have to negotiate every detail of an agreement with every member of Congress. Opponents say that renewing the president's fast track authority would lead to more trade agreements that would hurt American workers. The fast track bill passed in the Senate, but did not get much support in the House of Representatives. Facing defeat, President Clinton withdrew the bill before the House could vote.

Opponents of managed trade see it as a threat to free trade. They argue that the market, not the government, should determine which goods countries produce, import, and export. They say that, if left alone, the market will determine which products a country can most profitably export and which products it should import. Critics say that governments that manage trade risk wasting money by supporting industries that may prove to be less profitable. These companies may find that they are unable to export goods to countries that can make the same product for less. Thus, such industries would close, causing unemployment and recession. Some experts further contend that managed trade undermines the GATT system, which has contributed to unprecedented economic growth in the years since World War II. Special agreements between countries and government aid to exporters can cause slower growth—or even recession—in the world economy.

OUTLOOK

Although world leaders have produced free-trade agreements in recent years, large trade deficits and continued layoffs in some American industries have caused many people to believe that free trade has not helped the United States. Some U.S. industries have lost profits to foreign companies and have increased pressure on the government to enact tariffs and quotas against foreign competitors. The Clinton administration believes that enacting trade barriers would hurt the U.S. and global economies. The U.S. government has tried to increase exports and reduce the trade deficit by negotiating trade agreements with other major nations. However, some Americans believe that stronger measures are needed to make the United States more competitive. Eventually the long-term effects of NAFTA, GATT, and other trade agreements may answer questions about whether expanding free trade will benefit the U.S. economy.

THE DEBATE: INTERNATIONAL TRADE

Free trade will cause a loss in the number of U.S. jobs.

PRO: Free-trade agreements encourage U.S. businesses to move their factories to less developed countries where labor is inexpensive. Therefore, such policies reduce the number of American jobs, especially those in low-technology manufacturing. The federal government cannot afford to support or retrain low-skilled, unemployed workers. Therefore, free trade will increase the income gap among economic classes, creating social unrest as well as financial peril.

CON: Free trade creates more markets for U.S. exports, thereby increasing the number and quality of American jobs. Since NAFTA was enacted, thousands of new jobs have been created from expanded trade in the region. Job growth will increase even more with the implementation of GATT and future agreements with Pacific Basin and Western Hemisphere nations. In addition, expanding free trade improves U.S. foreign relations and reinforces economic reforms overseas.

The United States should continue to grant China MFN trade status.

PRO: By revoking China's MFN status, the United States would sacrifice its place in the growing Chinese market. China—and perhaps other countries—would retaliate with barriers of their own against American products, which could lead to U.S. job losses. Besides, continued access to Western goods and services will make Chinese citizens more open to democratic ideals.

CON: The Chinese government has been unwilling to reform its trading practices, ignoring U.S. demands for reform. Revoking China's MFN status would show that the United States is serious about reducing the trade imbalance and protecting worldwide free trade. Furthermore, U.S. trade sanctions would force the Chinese government to improve its human rights record.

The U.S. government should try to manage trade.

PRO: Foreign governments subsidize exports and block American imports. The U.S. government should counter these policies with similar intervention. The government should provide subsidies, finance research, and allow competing companies to cooperate in developing new technologies. The government can also help U.S. industries by negotiating trade agreements with other countries.

CON: Managed trade is merely protectionism by another name. Agreements with other nations to restrict exports would raise the prices of restricted goods for U.S. consumers. If the government were to support industries that later turned out to be unprofitable because they still could not compete in the world market, it would have wasted its money and done nothing to reduce the trade deficit.

WEAPONS PROLIFERATION

Ever since the United States developed the first atomic (nuclear) weapons in the 1940s, many other nations have sought nuclear arms and the power these weapons represent. However, the dangerous and destabilizing proliferation (spread) of nuclear weapons alarmed the global community. Nevertheless, some nations continue their quest for "the bomb." The technology to build nuclear weapons is still available, and many countries have the ability to make them or to help others do so. Therefore, international agreements—and the organizations that ensure compliance with such treaties—are important in controlling nuclear proliferation.

KEY QUESTIONS

- Should the United States stop selling nuclear materials and technology?
- Should the United States support a ban on land mines?
- Should the United States limit its sales of conventional weapons?

In the 1960s, the United States spearheaded the nuclear nonproliferation movement by rallying support for the United Nations (UN) Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty, the cornerstone of global efforts to curtail the manufacture of nuclear weapons. The antiproliferation campaign scored a major success in 1996 when United Nations members, including the United States, approved a new treaty to ban all testing of nuclear weapons. However, the campaign to curb the spread of nuclear weapons was dealt a serious setback in May 1998, when bitter rivals India and Pakistan exploded several nuclear devices. Suddenly, the "nuclear club" had two new members.

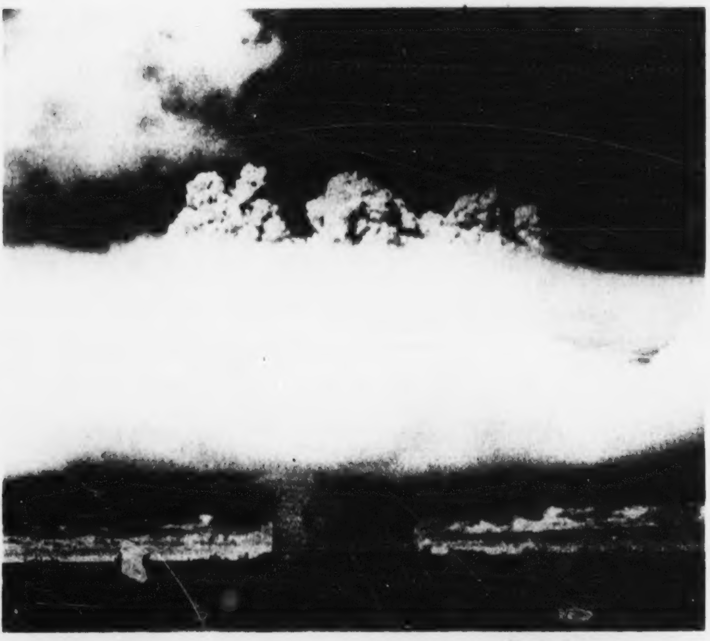
Antiproliferation efforts have also targeted conventional arms. Nations in volatile regions are buying large amounts of sophisticated conventional weaponry. Most experts believe that the spread of conventional armaments and the development of nuclear weapons are major threats to global stability. They look to the United States to help lead antiproliferation efforts around the world.

BACKGROUND

The Spread of Nuclear Weapons

The Atomic Bomb and the United States. In August 1945, the United States dropped atomic bombs on the cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, Japan. The attacks led to Japan's surrender and the end of World War II.

The world had witnessed the awesome power of nuclear technology. Soon after the war, the United States, in the Baruch Plan, proposed to the United Nations that all nuclear technology and materials be controlled by an international agency. The Soviet Union, however, vetoed this proposal and argued for a more immediate destruction of all existing nuclear bombs. The Soviets wanted to exploit their advantages in conventional arms and troop size by eliminating all nuclear weapons. Because world leaders could not reach an agreement on international control of nuclear weapons, Soviet leaders decided to continue their research on building nuclear devices. U.S. hopes of a nuclear monopoly were shattered when the Soviet Union exploded its first atomic device in 1949. Great Britain followed suit in 1952.



U.S. Department of Energy

During the Cold War, members of the nuclear club conducted tests of their nuclear weapons, which led to the development of larger, more powerful weapons.

TERRORISM AND CHEMICAL WEAPONS

In 1995, five packages containing sarin, a nerve agent, were placed on crowded subway cars in Tokyo. Ten people were killed and 5,000 fell ill. This terrorist attack shocked people in Japan and around the world. Some experts predict that more terrorist attacks involving chemical agents will occur in the future. These weapons—such as blister, choking, blood, and nerve agents—are inexpensive, easy to make, and difficult to detect. Many consider them "the poor man's atomic bomb." Some experts think that a good first step in combating this new terrorist threat is to tightly regulate the sale of chemicals that could be used to make weapons. Others add that fire departments, police, and hospitals need to be trained to be better prepared to help victims of possible chemical attacks.

An Expanding Nuclear Club. In the early 1960s, both France and China detonated atomic bombs, adding to the number of members in the "nuclear club." The three original nuclear powers—the United States, the Soviet Union, and Great Britain—worried that even more nations would develop the bomb. They rationalized that as one nation in a particular region went nuclear, its neighbors or rivals would also want similar weapons to avoid or defend against attack, thus increasing the risk of nuclear warfare or accidents. Many nonnuclear countries resented this assumption, contending that they would be just as careful in their use of nuclear weapons as the original members of the nuclear club.

Nonproliferation Treaties. As more nations gained nuclear weapons in the 1960s, the possibility of nuclear confrontation grew. The United States and other nuclear powers began a campaign to persuade nonnuclear countries from attempting to acquire nuclear capability.

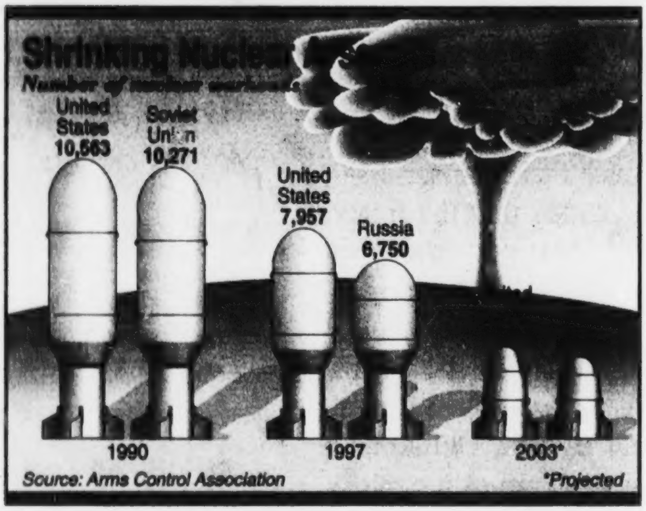
UN Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty. The 1968 UN Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty was designed to halt the spread of nuclear weapons and promote peaceful uses of nuclear power. It granted all nonnuclear signatories (signers) access to peaceful nuclear technology from participating nuclear powers. The nonnuclear countries had to promise that they would not use the technology to make weapons. The United States, the Soviet Union, and Great Britain signed the treaty, thereby agreeing that they would not help others build nuclear bombs and that they would reduce their nuclear arsenals. In 1995, UN members decided that the treaty should be extended indefinitely. However, Israel and some other nations suspected of having developed nuclear weapons have not signed the treaty.

The Limited Test Ban Treaty. From the 1940s through the 1960s, the five nuclear powers—the United States, the Soviet Union, Great Britain, China, and France—conducted explosive tests to develop nuclear weapons and to increase their bombs' power. Concerned about environmental damage, in 1963, leaders from these countries signed a treaty to limit the testing of nuclear weapons. The Limited Test Ban Treaty made it illegal to test nuclear weapons in the atmosphere, outer space, and underwater.

The Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty. After the Limited Test Ban Treaty went into effect, exploding nuclear weapons underground remained legal. However, by the early 1990s, many world leaders, particularly those from nonnuclear countries, wanted all nuclear blasts to cease. In 1996, more than fifty members of the United Nations signed the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, making all forms of nuclear explosions illegal.

Future Nuclear Nations. To the dismay of world leaders, the nuclear club added two new members in May 1998, when India and Pakistan successfully tested several nuclear devices. Iran, Israel, Libya, and North Korea may also have such weapons or may be attempting to make them.

The United States, China, France, and Germany have supplied some countries with the knowledge, technology, and materials to construct nuclear reactors for generating electricity. However, the materials and technology sold for peaceful purposes can be used to develop nuclear weapons. Although most nuclear transfers take place under internationally



By 2003, the number of nuclear bombs in the United States and Russia will be the lowest since the arms race began.

approved safeguards, it is possible for a determined country to develop nuclear bombs without being detected by the International Atomic Energy Agency, an agency of the United Nations.

Nuclear Weapons from the Former Soviet Union. Many Americans feared that the breakup of the Soviet Union into independent states would produce a nuclear "marketplace." A large number of nuclear weapons were scattered across four former Soviet republics—Russia, Ukraine, Belarus, and Kazakhstan. U.S. officials were concerned that unfriendly nations might bid for these weapons and technology.

In January 1993, U.S. and Russian leaders signed the Strategic Arms Reduction Talks Treaty II (START II), which calls for each country to reduce its nuclear arsenal by more than one-third. Belarus and Kazakhstan agreed to return their nuclear weapons to Russia, and Ukrainian leaders agreed to deactivate their nuclear weapons. Russia's nuclear arsenal is shrinking because of economic depression. However, as of early 1998, the Russian legislature still had not approved START II. Aside from problems of implementation, many worry that arms-control accords such as these may not prevent unemployed nuclear scientists from the former Soviet Union from selling their expertise to aggressive nations.

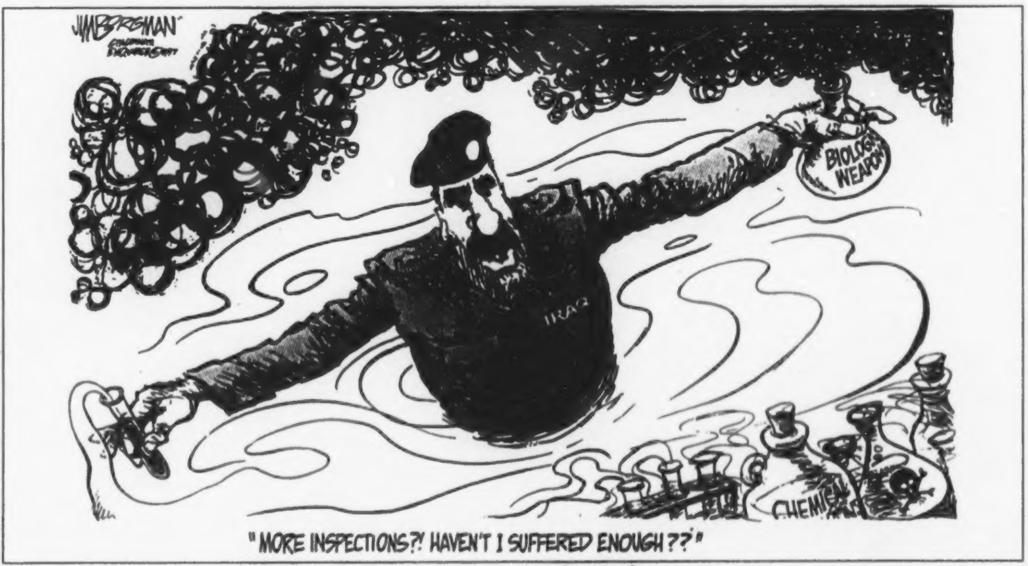
Conventional Weapons

The Global Marketplace. During the Cold War, the arms-control emphasis was on nuclear weapons. However, many experts believe the dramatic spread of conventional weapons is destabilizing volatile regions of the world. They are now calling for a halt on weapons exports by the United States. The proliferation of conventional armaments has contributed to armed conflict in the Middle East, Africa, parts of eastern Europe, and Asia.

Arms purchases are soaring in Asia. For instance, China, Japan, and North Korea are improving their missile systems, so other countries in the region are building up their arsenals in response. Historic rivalries, such as that between India and Pakistan, also fuel arms races. Pakistan, a developing country, spends more than 25 percent of its annual budget on defense. Middle Eastern countries such as Saudi Arabia, Iran, Egypt, and Israel are among the world's top arms-importing nations.

Chemical Weapons. The U.S. Central Intelligence Agency believes that some countries may have chemical and biological weapons. A chemical weapon is a toxic agent, such as mustard or nerve gas, that harms or kills people, animals, or plants. Biological weapons spread deadly diseases—like anthrax or plague—that attack humans.

In 1993, the United States, along with 163 other countries, signed a treaty, called the Chemical Weapons Convention, that bans the use, production,



"MORE INSPECTIONS?! HAVEN'T I SUFFERED ENOUGH??"

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and stockpiling of chemical weapons. On April 30, 1997, the treaty went into effect. Some experts think that twenty-five countries—including Iraq, Iran, Syria, North Korea, and Libya—possess chemical weapons but have not declared them.

In 1998, Iraq's leader, Saddam Hussein, refused to allow UN inspectors to search certain buildings for illegal weapons of mass destruction, including chemical agents. Many experts in the United States thought that Iraq was hiding these weapons. The U.S. government threatened to use military force if Iraq did not comply with the UN. In February 1998, the UN reached an agreement with Saddam Hussein that allowed for weapons inspections.

The Use of Land Mines. Experts estimate that there are more than 100 million antipersonnel land mines—buried explosive devices—planted in about seventy countries around the world. Stretches of land in Bosnia, Cambodia, Iraq, Nicaragua, Somalia, and Vietnam are littered with land mines. These explosives kill or injure about 25,000 people each year; almost a third of the victims are children. In 1997, a few months after the Oslo Conference was held in Norway, representatives from eighty-nine countries gathered in Canada to sign the Ottawa Treaty, which bans the production and use of land mines. The treaty also gives countries ten years to clear areas that have been planted with land mines. The United States did not sign the treaty because of concerns that without land mines the safety of U.S. troops overseas may be jeopardized.

The Major Powers as Arms Dealers. Most arms-exporting countries agree that the spread of weapons in unstable regions of the world is a threat to peace. However, reducing arms sales has been difficult because many of these nations, including the United States, depend on the development and export of weapons to help their economies. In most cases, the profits gained by selling conventional weapons are too great for arms-selling countries to ignore.

U.S. Department of the Army

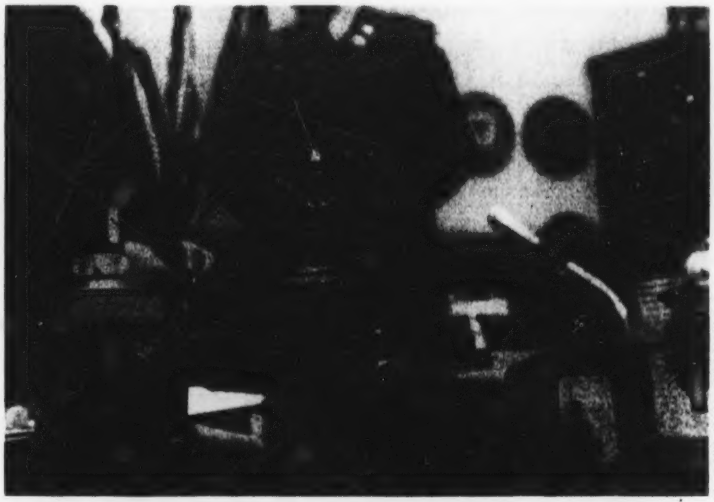
The Department of Defense estimates that as many as 5,000 U.S. troops involved in the Persian Gulf War may have been exposed to nerve gas during the destruction of the Iraqi chemical weapons arsenal. This incident fueled support for a worldwide chemical arms ban, which went into effect in 1997.

The five nations of the United Nations Security Council—China, France, Great Britain, Russia, and the United States—are the world's top arms exporters. They account for 90 percent of all arms transfers. In 1996, the United States sold about $11 billion in weapons to other nations.

In the United States, the end of the Cold War reduced the domestic demand for high-tech weaponry, resulting in the loss of thousands of jobs. The U.S. government then encouraged defense contractors to sell their hardware overseas to protect against further defense industry layoffs. Russia decreased its sales of weapons during this period; as a result the United States was able to sell to more foreign arms purchasers. However, because overall world arms purchases during the same period dropped about 70 percent, the American defense industry lost billions of dollars.

CURRENT ISSUES

Restricting Sales of Nuclear Technology. Some American leaders have suggested that the United States set an example for the world by sharply restricting its own sales of nuclear technology. They convinced Congress to pass the Nuclear Nonproliferation Act of 1978, which denies nuclear technology to countries that the United States suspects of developing nuclear weapons.



Reuters/Win McNamee/Archive Photos

Land mines (such as those pictured here) are buried in the ground. They explode when someone steps on the top piece, which is designed to look like a piece of grass or a small plant. More than 8,000 children are killed each year by land mines.

Opponents of this approach argue that overly strict U.S. restrictions are ineffective because nations can easily find nuclear fuel and technical know-how elsewhere. They say that the United States should not deny nuclear technology to "nonrisk" nations—nations that are not seeking nuclear weapons. They argue that the United States can better control the spread of nuclear weapons by being a predictable supplier of nuclear technology for peaceful purposes.

Banning Land Mines. Although the United States participated in the Oslo Conference on land mines, President Bill Clinton and many members of Congress did not support the Ottawa Treaty that bans their use and production.

Supporters of using land mines argue that the U.S. military would be put in danger without these weapons. Experts maintain that there would be a national security risk and American lives would be threatened if the military stopped using land mines. Eric Newsom, the chief American delegate to the Oslo Conference, said that land mines are "woven into our defense structure." Indeed, some people think that it would be impossible to stop using them overnight. Experts also caution that the United States needs to reserve the right to use land mines if threatened militarily by another country.

Critics point out that land mines have killed and injured the world's poor and vulnerable, often after the war has ended. Almost one-third of the victims of land mines are children, many of whom have died or lost limbs in the explosions. Critics worry that the Ottawa Treaty is not universal: Countries that represent two-thirds of the world's population have not signed and could still be using land mines. They argue that U.S. support is crucial to convince large producers of land mines, such as China and Russia, to support the treaty.

Selling Conventional Arms. In 1996, the Presidential Advisory Board on Arms Proliferation Policy reported that U.S. military forces have confronted foes in Somalia, Haiti, Panama, and Iraq armed with weapons sold by American companies. As a result of this "boomerang effect" of weapons trade, the report recommended tighter regulation of conventional arms sales by the United States. That same year, legislation was introduced that would give Congress new powers to approve or block weapons deals with foreign governments. Under this proposal, Congress could approve sales of arms only to countries that meet the four criteria of a "code of conduct"—support for democracy, respect for human rights, participation in the United Nations' arms sale registry, and abstinence from illegal acts of aggression.

NUCLEAR COOPERATION WITH CHINA?

Since joining the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty in 1985, China has continued to supply nuclear equipment and technology to countries such as Iran, Iraq, and Pakistan. During the second half of 1996, China was the most significant supplier of weapons of mass destruction. In spite of China's current activities, some experts believe that in the future the United States should try to form a nuclear cooperation agreement with China and trade nuclear reactors and fuel. They argue that after China meets the standards of nonproliferation, the U.S. government should form a pact based on nonviolent uses of nuclear energy. However, others warn that China has violated international agreements in the past and that nuclear trade with China could assist illicit military programs.

Supporters of such restrictions say that U.S.-built weapons should not be sold to nations that are a threat to American security. Moreover, they argue that unrestricted U.S. arms sales feed instability and violence in other countries. Between 1990 and 1994, 85 percent of U.S. foreign arms sales went to nondemocratic governments. Proponents think that the United States should sell weapons responsibly and set a standard for other arms-dealing countries.

However, critics counter that selling some countries sophisticated conventional arms deters those nations from seeking nuclear weapons. In addition, opponents of restricting arms exports believe that the United States has an economic incentive to sell conventional weapons. The development and manufacture of sophisticated military hardware accounts for thousands of jobs in the United States. Critics also point out that through weapons sales, the United States maintains positive relations with some countries, thus retaining some leverage over their actions.

OUTLOOK

Although the United States and Russia have agreed to reduce their nuclear stockpiles, carrying out the START II agreement has been slow and uncertain. Meanwhile, many observers think that atomic weapons are still in high demand in some parts of the world. These issues highlight the importance of implementing strict controls to curb the illegal sale of nuclear know-how. Before the latest treaty to ban nuclear testing goes into effect, scientists and policymakers must come up with new ways to detect illegal blasts and punish the violating countries. In addition, lawmakers must balance the economic benefits of selling conventional weapons overseas with the military costs of quelling foreign conflicts. The U.S. government's policies on these issues today will be a major factor in determining the extent of global weapons proliferation in the twenty-first century. Indeed, those policies may well determine the safety of the planet itself.

THE DEBATE: WEAPONS PROLIFERATION

The United States should stop selling nuclear materials and technology.

PRO: The next country to use the atomic bomb will be a country that has built a bomb from materials provided by nations in the nuclear club. Even if the United States continues selling weapons-related materials to countries it considers "safe," a buyer might sell that material to another nation that wants to build nuclear bombs. A ban on the sale of U.S. technology and materials would limit world supplies and set an example for other nuclear exporters.

CON: Halting U.S. sales of weapons-related materials and technology would only work if the United States were the sole supplier. Years ago, the United States might have had such a monopoly, but today China, France, Japan, Germany, and other countries are both able and willing to export nuclear materials and technology. Without the support of other countries, a U.S. ban would only result in lost business for the American defense industry.

The United States should support a ban on land mines.

PRO: Land mines kill and maim thousands of civilians each year, many of whom are children. Victims often live in countries that have been ravaged by war and are in the process of rebuilding. Many of the countries that use the most land mines did not sign the treaty banning their use. The United States must stop using land mines to encourage other nations to do so.

CON: The U.S. military needs to use land mines to protect the lives of American troops. Land mines are part of the military structure and it takes time to phase them out. If the United States is threatened by another country, the military must reserve the right to use land mines as part of its defense. The United States can not stop using land mines until an effective alternative is found.

The United States should limit its sales of conventional weapons.

PRO: The United States continues to export arms to volatile world regions, promoting armed conflict in the Middle East and Asia. Unless the sale of these weapons is cut dramatically, the U.S. military will likely be pulled into more regional conflicts in which both sides are using U.S.-made weapons. The United States should not sell arms to countries that do not meet the "code of conduct" criteria.

CON: The United States will lose economically if it reduces its exports of conventional weapons. Many Americans will lose their jobs, adding to the number of unemployed workers in defense industries. Restricting arms sales could contribute to the insecurity of many countries, causing them to resume their attempts to obtain nuclear weapons. Arms exports also give the United States political leverage.

WORLD POVERTY AND FOREIGN AID

Although nations around the world have made significant advances in agriculture and medicine over the years, more than a billion people, one-fifth of the world's population, still live in poverty. They suffer from hunger and disease; many are illiterate. Analysts estimate that 40,000 children die each day of starvation and preventable diseases. The income gap between the world's wealthiest people and its poorest has widened in recent years. Moreover, the world's population is predicted to swell from almost 6 billion today to more than 9 billion by 2050, further taxing Earth's resources and deepening world poverty.

Every year, the United States and other industrialized nations send money and other forms of aid to countries struggling to feed their people and provide basic services. But in recent years, foreign aid programs have come under fire. Critics contend that these programs are ineffective and have made recipient governments too dependent on foreign economic assistance. Some also say that the money would be better spent on domestic programs or deficit reduction in the United States. Yet others argue that the United States, which spends less than 1 percent of its annual federal budget on foreign aid, has a moral responsibility as the wealthiest nation in the world to help people in need. In addition, the United States may reap long-term benefits when recipient countries become stable democracies and economic trading partners.

KEY QUESTIONS

- Is foreign aid in the U.S. national interest?
- Should foreign aid be privatized?
- Should the United States promote family planning to curb population growth?

BACKGROUND

North vs. South

The Terms of Poverty. During the Cold War, nations usually aligned themselves either with the Western democratic countries—the United States and western Europe—or with the Eastern communist bloc—the Soviet Union and eastern Europe. When East-West tensions largely disappeared after the breakup of the Soviet empire in 1991, the relationship between rich and poor countries began to play a more prominent role in international politics. Countries with advanced, industrialized economies had a much higher standard of living than the less developed countries trying to improve their economies and societies. Leaders of less developed nations point to this unequal distribution of the world's wealth when they ask for more assistance. The tension between these two groups of countries is often called the North-South conflict, because richer, developed countries tend to be located in the Northern Hemisphere, while poorer, less developed countries generally are found near or south of the equator in Africa, Asia, and South America.

The Pattern of Poverty. About 1.3 billion people in developing countries live in conditions unimaginable to

UN Photo

Recent statistics indicate that the global income gap is getting worse. The richest 20 percent of the population controls nearly 80 percent of the world's wealth. Meanwhile, more than half of the world's people have incomes of less than $2 a day and live in deplorable conditions, like these in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.

In China, population growth spurs development on land that was once reserved for agriculture. Many people live in towns and cities that are no longer close to farms or other food sources like the one pictured here in rural China.

UN Photo 156178/John Isaac

most Americans. In developing countries, farming is still done with the most basic tools and techniques, and there is little industry. Health and sanitation standards are low, leading to rampant disease, a high rate of infant mortality, and a short life expectancy. Most roads are unpaved and few villages have plumbing or electricity. More than 900 million adults in the developing world cannot read or write. In most of these countries, land and income are unequally distributed. The average yearly income in the poorest countries is equivalent to about $200, while only a small percentage of people enjoy great wealth.

The number of poverty-stricken people is growing. Experts predict the world's population will surpass 9 billion by 2050, with the highest growth rates in the less developed nations. While women in developed countries have, on average, two children during their lifetimes, women in some less developed regions average more than six children. For example, more than 30 percent of last year's births occurred in India. Two-thirds of the world's impoverished people are younger than 15 years old.

Rapid population growth places a burden on a nation's economic and natural resources. Many advocates for helping people in need around the world recommend making birth control and family planning techniques widely available to couples in developing countries. The birthrate is generally lower in countries where the population achieves higher levels of education. Thus, many developing countries are trying to improve literacy rates and general education.

World Hunger. Hunger is a major problem in developing countries. Despite advances in agricultural technology and years of international aid programs, almost 850 million people worldwide do not get enough to eat each day. Nowhere are hunger problems like these more evident than in sub-Saharan Africa. For example, tribal warfare in Zaire and Rwanda in the mid-1990s caused thousands to flee their homelands and created widespread famine.

Although grain production worldwide has increased in recent years, rising prices have made much of this food unaffordable to the world's poorest people. Urbanization has also caused food shortages. In China, for example, land previously used for farming has been taken over for housing and industry.

In 1996, the United Nations Food and Agricultural Organization held a World Food Summit in Rome to discuss strategies for combating hunger in the next century. Items on the agenda included developing more family planning programs, promoting more efficient farming methods, and sponsoring larger international assistance programs. Despite these new and ongoing efforts, experts estimate that approximately 40,000 children die each day from sickness and malnutrition.

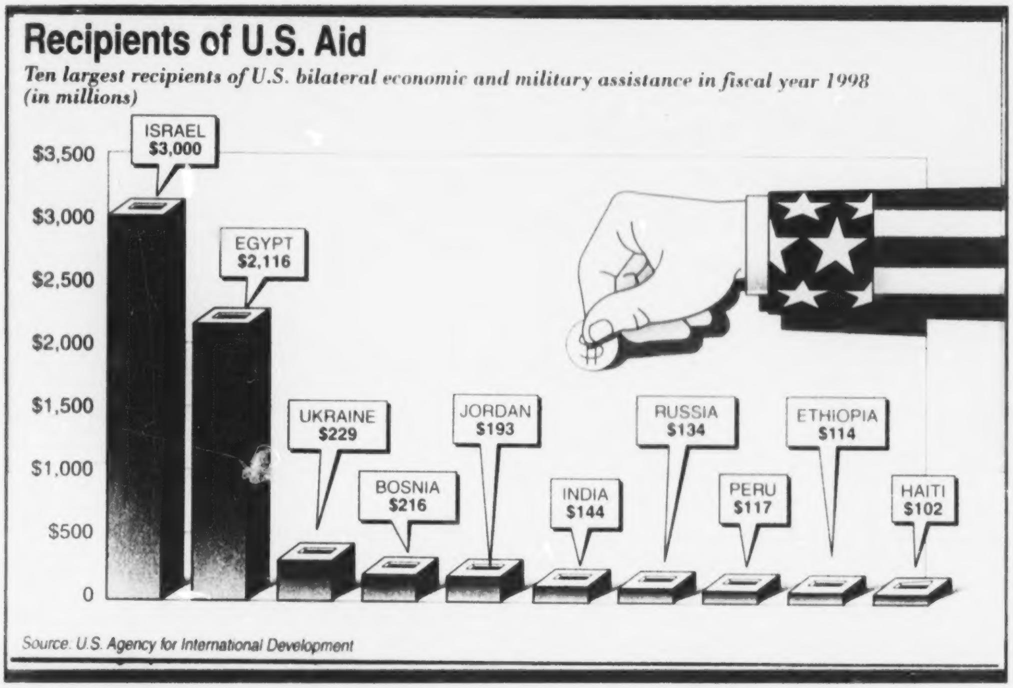
ANOTHER MARSHALL PLAN?

Some experts think that the United States should now embrace an extensive aid package like the Marshall Plan to help eastern Europe and other developing countries. They say that some countries in the former Soviet Union are in urgent need of aid and that global problems, such as terrorism, drug trafficking, and refugee resettlement, demand U.S. attention. However, opponents argue that the United States needs to help developing countries become part of the global economy and not merely supply them with foreign aid.

U.S. Foreign Aid. American leaders have often acted on the belief that giving aid to other nations in need is not only a critical humanitarian effort, but often is in the national interest of the United States. For example, after World War II, the United States mounted one of the largest relief efforts ever to help devastated western Europe recover from the war. Many nations were in shambles, and the communist Soviet Union was trying to exert its influence. This program, called the Marshall Plan, granted $13 billion to help restart the world's economy and boost the health of potential U.S. allies. Officials believed that the relief program would help combat the "real enemies" of democracy: "hunger, poverty, desperation, and chaos."

The United States currently commits less than 1 percent of its annual federal budget to foreign aid each year—about $12 billion in 1997. However, some members of Congress want to eliminate foreign aid because they believe that it is ineffective and that the funds would be better spent on programs at home.

Bilateral Aid. U.S. aid is mostly bilateral (two-sided)—it goes directly from the United States to another country. For the least developed countries, U.S. aid provides basic humanitarian support to feed the hungry and treat the sick. Aid can also help raise the standard of living and enable developing countries to buy more American products. Bilateral aid is also used for security purposes.



Recipients of U.S. Aid

Ten largest recipients of U.S. bilateral economic and military assistance in fiscal year 1998 (in millions)

Source: U.S. Agency for International Development

The United States spends less than 1 percent of its annual budget on foreign aid.

CUERPO DE PAZ
PEACE CORPS
PANAMA

AP Photo/Kent Gilbert

Each year, Peace Corps volunteers travel to countries to help build homes and grow food. Here, First Lady Hillary Clinton swears in Peace Corps volunteers in Panama.

Development and Humanitarian Assistance. The U.S. government provides development and humanitarian assistance to developing countries to build roads, hospitals, schools, and power plants. For people in many of these countries, U.S. aid may make a difference between life and death by providing them with food and medical care. The funds are channeled through the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), which oversees a variety of programs. For instance, USAID sponsors agriculture, rural development, and nutrition programs, which help increase crop production in other countries. In recent years, some members of Congress have proposed that funding for USAID be reduced, while others have argued that the agency helps prevent unrest in developing nations and should be spared.

Security Assistance. The United States also provides foreign aid in the form of security assistance. Security assistance is designed to strengthen the armed forces and economies of friendly governments, enabling them to buy American-made weapons, airplanes, and military vehicles and to train soldiers for their national defense.

Multilateral Aid. The U.S. government also gives money to international aid organizations. These organizations then distribute the funds to poor countries to help them combat specific problems. This type of aid is called multilateral (many-sided) because many nations contribute funds that are then given to a number of different nations. Some of the largest multilateral aid sources are the World Bank, the United Nations Development Program, and the International Monetary Fund. All of these organizations grant aid based on need rather than politics.

CURRENT ISSUES

A National Interest? During the Cold War, the United States had a clear policy goal for its foreign aid programs—stopping the spread of communism. By enabling European countries—and later, nations in Asia and Latin America—to stabilize their economies and gradually increase their standard of living, the United States created a favorable climate for democracy. However, since the fall of the Soviet Union in 1991, the necessity of U.S. foreign aid in the post–Cold War world has been called into question.

The United States has participated in many relief efforts in Africa. Here, workers load food supplies from a U.S. airlift onto a truck in northern Kenya.

Reuters/Hamilton/Archive Photos

Supporters of U.S. foreign aid believe that investment abroad is as important to the U.S. national interest as investment at home. They think that the United States has a responsibility to stabilize areas in sub-Saharan Africa, eastern Europe, and Latin America to make them safe for democracy. They believe that every dollar spent on foreign aid now is a dollar that will not have to be spent on U.S. military intervention in the future. In addition, supporters say many developing countries could eventually become lucrative trading partners if the United States invests in their education, infrastructure, and agricultural development.

However, many Americans believe that foreign aid is no longer vital to the U.S. national interest. They say that America should take care of its own problems first before it gives money to foreign nations. Opponents also dispute the idea that recipient nations will become loyal allies of the United States. In 1996, a group of African nations, including some who have received U.S. aid, fought the Clinton administration's efforts to find a replacement for United Nations secretary general Boutros Boutros-Ghali. Incidents like this one have prompted some members of Congress to say that foreign aid is no longer in the U.S. national interest because recipient nations often clash with the United States over important international issues.

BAILING OUT INDONESIA?

Unstable banks, unwise investments, and faulty monetary policies have caused a financial crisis in Indonesia. This crisis has affected the United States' economy as well as other countries around the world. In response, the International Monetary Fund offered a $23 billion aid package, and the United States donated an additional $3 billion.

Privatizing Foreign Assistance. The U.S. Agency for International Development is an independent government agency that provides economic development and humanitarian assistance to foreign countries to advance U.S. political and economic interests. Recently, many members of Congress have criticized USAID and have taken steps to greatly reduce its operations. USAID is primarily responsible for coordinating the different foreign aid programs that the government administers. A great deal of the actual work—such as feeding people and administering medical care—is done by private volunteer organizations.

Supporters of privatizing foreign aid say that USAID wastes money and has failed in many of its objectives. They point to statistics that show that for every dollar the U.S. government spends on foreign aid, between 70 and 80 cents stays in the United States to pay for the operating and administrative costs. Most private, nonprofit organizations have much smaller administrative budgets, allowing more money to get to developing countries. Some note that USAID already uses much of its budget to fund projects administered by nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), such as the Red Cross and World Vision. Experts point out that the American people, as well as people around the world, give billions of dollars each year to private charities that help the poor. In fact, the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development cited private contributions as the primary reason why in 1996 foreign aid to developing countries exceeded $300 billion for the first time.

As many Americans call for a decrease in foreign aid, nongovernmental organizations are trying to raise money for the world's needy from private charities such as the International Red Cross, which participated in this training exercise in El Salvador.

AP Photo/Luis Romero

Critics of privatizing foreign aid defend USAID, citing the success of many of its humanitarian and economic programs around the globe. For example, USAID dehydration prevention and HIV/AIDS education programs have saved thousands of lives in Africa in the last ten years alone. Critics also argue that foreign aid is vital to the U.S. national interest; therefore it cannot be left to the responsibility of NGOs and private charities. Some experts say that reducing government-sponsored foreign aid would mean thousands of people in the developing world could go without humanitarian assistance, compromising both the reputation of the United States and its national interests abroad. They argue that for a country to successfully develop, the U.S. government must also become involved in its long-term economic planning by encouraging private industries to invest there.

The Population Explosion. Many experts see the world's growing population as a major cause of poverty in developing countries. In 1997 alone, the world's population rose by 80 million. By 2050, more than 9 billion people will inhabit Earth, straining the water, soil, and other natural resources that are key to human survival. In addition, poverty and population growth are linked; more than 90 percent of world population growth over the next fifty years will take place in developing countries. In 1997, Congress passed and President Bill Clinton signed a resolution that granted $385 million to more than 100 developing countries for contraceptives and sex education programs.

Many economists say that stabilizing population growth should be a top international priority because it has tremendous implications for the economic, political, and environmental welfare of the world. These experts support increased access to birth control information and contraceptives for women in the developing world. They also think that sex education will

UNITED STATES GIVES MORE FOREIGN AID DOLLARS

According to the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, the United States gave about $9 billion in worldwide development assistance in 1996—20 percent more than the previous year. Japan donated slightly more than the United States, offering almost $9.5 billion in assistance. Experts note that the increase in foreign aid from the United States is due largely to money from private charities.

reduce the number of maternal and infant deaths, as well as the spread of AIDS. Some experts believe that these family planning efforts will help reduce the number of abortions performed in developing countries. Some maintain that women with family planning options will choose to have fewer children, thus improving their chances for a more economically sound future.

Other U.S. policymakers think that giving funds to global organizations that might recommend abortion as an option is morally wrong. Presidents Ronald Reagan and George Bush suspended U.S. support of International Planned Parenthood and the United Nations Population Fund because these groups discussed abortion as an option in family planning. Though President Clinton lifted the ban in 1993, some continue to oppose using foreign aid to encourage abortions. They say promoting birth control strategies abroad amounts to international intervention in a private family matter and should be stopped. Furthermore, the United Nations predicts that the world's population will stabilize, or stop rising, in 2200 at about 11 billion people.

OUTLOOK

Over the years, U.S. foreign aid has been used to decrease poverty, promote political stability and democracy, and keep allies strong. Recognizing that the approximately 1.3 billion people living in poverty and amidst environmental decay present a serious problem, the nations of the world are reevaluating their efforts to relieve the struggle of developing countries. The population explosion is straining Earth's food supplies, forests, and oceans. Nearly one-fifth of the world's people still do not have enough food, adequate shelter, and sanitation. Global leaders are now considering ways to improve the lives of the world's people in need and the very health of Earth itself. At a time in the United States when no federal programs are safe from budget cuts, U.S. leaders must decide what kind of foreign aid commitment their country can and should make.

THE DEBATE: WORLD POVERTY AND FOREIGN AID

Foreign aid is in the U.S. national interest.

PRO: The United States cannot afford to ignore the developing world. Providing economic and development assistance to less developed countries makes them democratic and allies of the United States. The need for military intervention in the future can be diminished if the United States enables these nations to stabilize their economies, feed their people, and educate their children.

CON: The United States must prioritize its federal spending. Giving money to foreign governments is not as important as attending to domestic issues, such as reducing the national debt. Foreign aid programs have been ineffective and have not made strong trading partners or military allies out of recipient nations. The United States cannot afford to come to the aid of every poor nation.

Foreign aid should be privatized.

PRO: USAID is a wasteful and ineffective government agency. Private organizations use their funds more efficiently and already do most of the actual work of distributing food and medical supplies. Americans and citizens of other countries are donating more and more money to private charities. Therefore, the federal government should leave the job of aiding developing countries to private organizations.

CON: Because foreign aid is an important component of U.S. foreign policy, the government should continue to fund USAID and direct the efforts of nonprofit organizations. The U.S. government provides valuable services, such as agricultural data and economic advice, to developing countries. Private organizations should not bear the entire burden for improving conditions in the developing world.

The United States should promote family planning to curb population growth.

PRO: World poverty can be reduced only if population growth is brought under control. Millions of couples want information about birth control but cannot get it. The United States should share information with developing countries. Providing family planning information will enable women in developing countries—and their children—to have a better chance to escape disease and poverty.

CON: The United States should not provide any aid that might be used to support abortion. Instead, it should provide the economic support that will help developing countries modernize. Improving the economies of developing nations will encourage their people to have smaller families. Decisions about family size should not be influenced by U.S. governmental policies.

EAST ASIA

East Asia includes the nations in the easternmost part of the Asian continent, the Indochina and Malay Peninsulas, and the island nations of Japan, Hong Kong, Taiwan, Indonesia, and the Philippines. Throughout most of the 1990s, East Asia has been one of the fastest-growing economic regions in the world. Japan has led many high-tech industries and is a major economic partner of the United States. Once-isolated China has also produced enormous economic growth rates and an unprecedented increase in the standard of living of its citizens. Even smaller East Asian nations such as Brunei, South Korea, and Vietnam have experienced dramatic economic gains.

In 1997, however, East Asian economies were rocked by plummeting currency values and unpaid foreign debts, sending much of the region into economic turmoil. American leaders worried about what the Asian crisis could mean for the U.S. economy. Asia is a large market for American products. If demand for U.S. products falls due to rising unemployment, the American economy could suffer as a result.

U.S. relations with East Asian countries are tense on other issues as well. For example, China's human rights violations continue to be a source of conflict with the United States. As U.S. officials focus their foreign policy priorities on East Asia, they realize that the region presents unique problems requiring innovative diplomatic and economic solutions.

KEY QUESTIONS

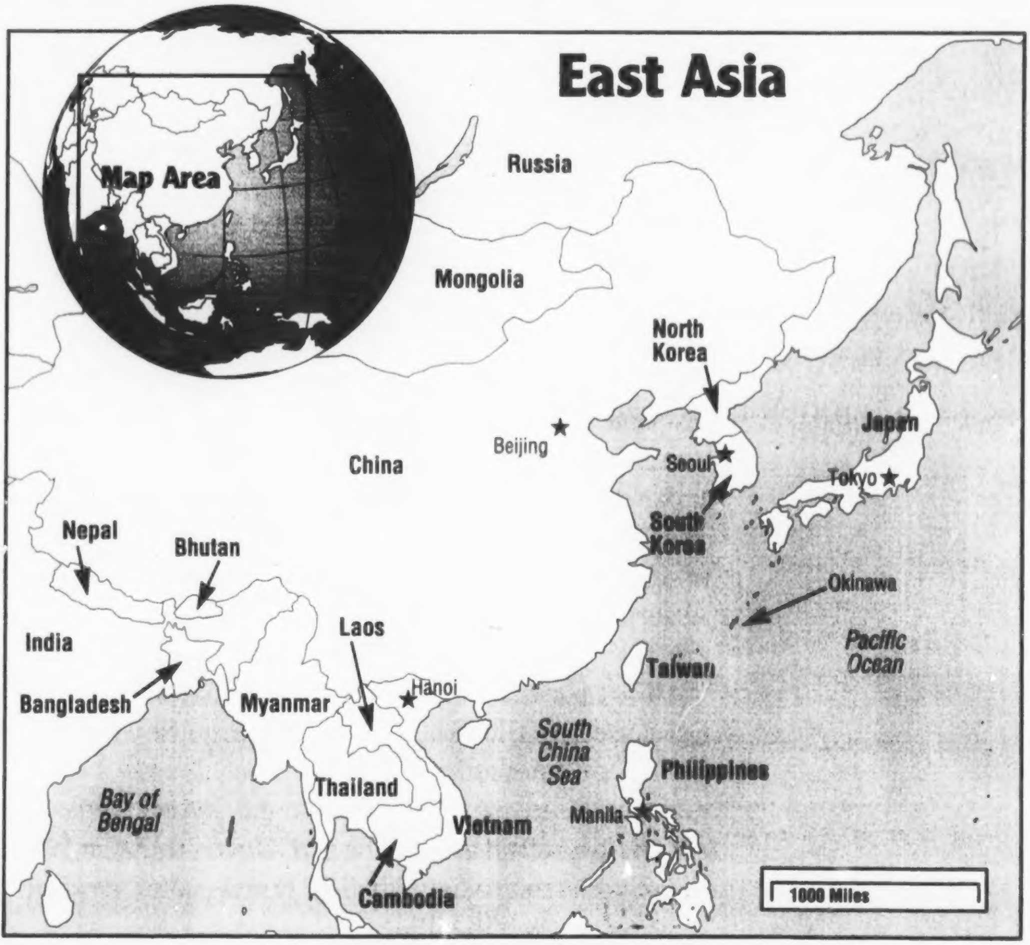
- Should the United States withdraw its troops from Japan?
- Should the United States recognize Taiwan?
- Should the United States lift the economic sanctions against North Korea?

BACKGROUND

Japan

U.S.-Japan Relations, 1945–52. After U.S. atomic bombs destroyed two Japanese cities in 1945, Japan surrendered to the United States, bringing World War II to an end. Japan was then placed under U.S. military occupation. The Japanese adopted a new democratic system of government, with a parliament, a prime minister, and a supreme court. The constitution also demilitarized Japan, denying it the right to raise an army.

In 1952, Japan signed a peace treaty with the United States, ending seven years of U.S. military occupation. Japanese leaders also signed the Mutual Security Treaty, which stated that the United States would defend Japan


East Asia
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Japan
Tokyo
Okinawa
Pacific Ocean
Nepal
Bhutan
India
Bangladesh
Laos
Hanoi
Myanmar
Taiwan
South China Sea
Philippines
Thailand
Bay of Bengal
Vietnam
Manila
Cambodia
1000 Miles

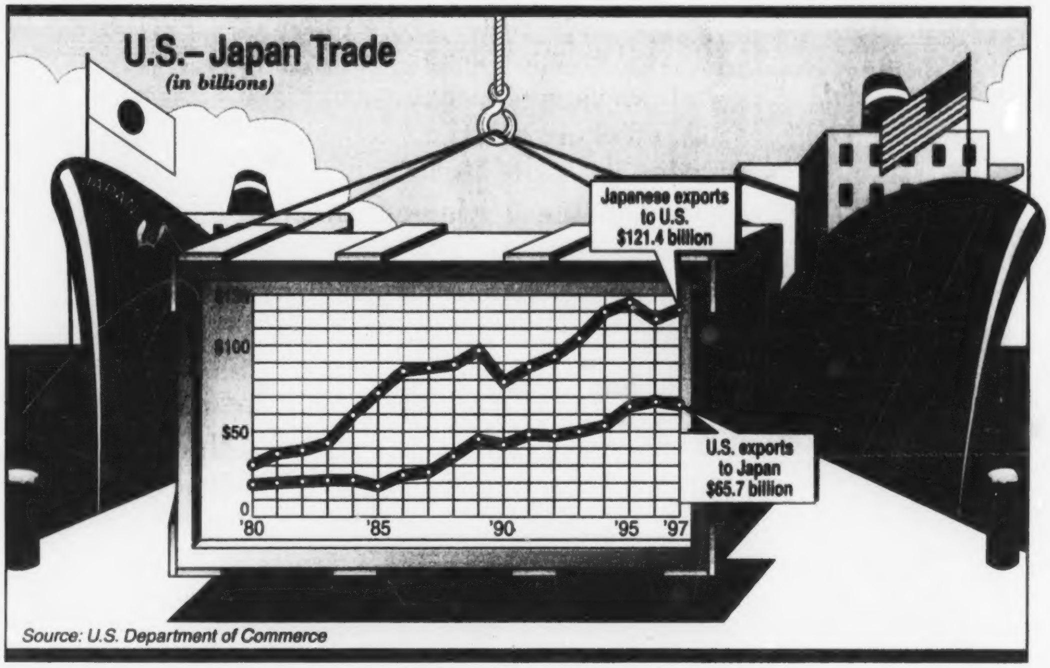
in case of attack. In exchange, the United States could maintain military bases on Japanese soil.

Japan's Economic Miracle. After World War II, Japanese industrialists found that, because of their wartime focus on military equipment, they were ten years behind the latest advances in technology and production. With American aid, Japan built its postwar industries; Japan also introduced new management techniques and erected trade barriers to protect new industries.

The Japanese government helped companies grow by supporting potentially prosperous industries with grants for research and development and by allowing competing companies to work together to develop new technologies and products. The government's efforts were matched by Japan's well-educated workers, who were able to adopt, and often improve, foreign technology. As a result of government and industry efforts, Japan's productivity rate grew faster than the United States' productivity rate. By the 1960s, industries in Japan were turning out high-quality consumer goods, such as clothing, radios, televisions, cameras, and automobiles, and exporting them to the United States and other nations.

U.S.-Japan Trade. Trade is essential to Japan's economy. Because this island country has few natural resources, it must import most of the raw materials it needs for manufacturing. To pay for these imports, Japan must sell finished goods to other nations. In the 1960s, the United States became Japan's biggest customer. By 1965, Japan was selling more products to Americans than it was buying from them, creating a trade deficit for the United States that continues today.

The trade deficit between the United States and Japan has caused conflicts between the two countries. Officials from both governments have negotiated several agreements to increase U.S. exports and reduce Japanese exports in an effort to close the gap. Nevertheless, in 1997, Japan's trade surplus with the United States remained large, at nearly $56 billion.



Source: U.S. Department of Commerce

Every year since 1965, Japan has exported more goods to the United States than the United States has exported to Japan. Japan exports manufactured goods such as cars, machines, and telecommunications equipment to the United States. Americans ship raw materials such as metal, coal, lumber, and food to Japan.

China

Communism and the Great Leap Forward. Following World War II, two political parties in China—the Nationalist Party, led by Chiang Kaishek, and the Communist Party, led by Mao Zedong—fought for control of the country. In 1949, the long struggle ended with a victory by the Communists; Mao renamed the country the People's Republic of China (PRC). Meanwhile, Chiang took his Nationalist government to the island of Formosa, later renamed Taiwan.

Among Mao's goals was the elimination of poverty and inequality among the masses by redistributing food, land, and other resources. The first ten years of communist rule produced some economic achievements but fell far short of meeting the needs of the Chinese people. In 1958, Mao announced a new economic program, known as the Great Leap Forward, intended to modernize his country's agriculture and industry. The program was a disaster. It not only failed to reach its economic goals but also led to unrest among the people, the imprisonment and execution of dissidents, and China's isolation from the rest of the world.

Changing Leaders and Economic Policy. After Mao died in 1976, Deng Xiaoping eventually emerged as China's leader. Although the overall structure and principles of communism remained intact, Deng and his supporters radically altered Chinese economic policy. They initiated an "open door" policy with the West to increase trade and attract foreign investors to China. To modernize agriculture and industry, Deng experimented with capitalist concepts such as private property and free-market competition.

China's move toward capitalism continues today. As a result of Deng's reforms, China's economy has grown at an annual rate of about 9 percent since the early 1980s. Experts believe that by early next century, China will become one of the top dozen exporters in the world.

In 1997, the 92-year-old Deng died. His successor, President Jiang Zemin, has agreed to share power in the central government and allow local governments to make more decisions. Most observers expect China's economic liberalization to continue under the new leadership.

U.S.-China Relations. The takeover by communists in China in 1949 was a great shock to U.S. leaders, whose foreign policy was dedicated to stopping the spread of communism. The United States refused to recognize the People's Republic of China. Instead, it maintained diplomatic relations with the PRC's rival, the Republic of China on the island of Taiwan. Chinese leaders in the PRC were outspokenly anti-American.

By the 1970s, China had become a world power, and its relations with the neighboring Soviet Union were worsening. President Richard Nixon believed that the United States could take advantage of the conflict between the two communist giants. In 1972, Nixon stunned the world by going to China. Chinese-American relations quickly improved. President

Jimmy Carter finally established full diplomatic relations with China in 1979.

During the 1980s, the United States and China continued their constructive but uneasy relationship. As Deng Xiaoping's economic reforms pushed China toward capitalism, Presidents Ronald Reagan and George Bush made more diplomatic overtures to encourage Deng to adopt political reforms as well.

The Tiananmen Square Uprising. In 1989, more than 100,000 Chinese students and workers staged demonstrations in Beijing, the capital of China, demanding democratic reforms and the removal of Deng from power. The government imposed martial law, but the protesters ignored it. Deng then ordered tanks and armored vehicles to attack the protesters massed in Tiananmen Square. About 800 or more people died, and thousands of others were injured. Hundreds were arrested; some were later executed.

Although President Bush denounced the attack, he still believed it was in the United States' best interest not to isolate China, but to continue to help it develop economically. Bush agreed to renew China's most favored nation (MFN) trade status. MFN trade status

AP/Wide World Photos

In May 1989, thousands of Chinese students gathered in Tiananmen Square for pro-democracy demonstrations. In a display that shocked the West, the Chinese army attacked the students with guns and tanks, killing at least 800.

In October 1997, U.S. president Bill Clinton and Chinese president Jiang Zemin met for diplomatic talks in Washington, D.C.

AP Photo/Ron Edmonds

encourages Chinese exports to the United States because it grants them reduced tariffs.

Tensions in the 1990s. Relations between the United States and China deteriorated during the 1990s over human rights and trade issues. Some lawmakers argued that the United States should not grant trade privileges to countries that repress and mistreat their citizens. Others believed that China's growing economic strength and world influence warranted more constructive exchanges. In October 1997, President Bill Clinton hosted a diplomatic summit with President Jiang Zemin in Washington, D.C. They reached agreements concerning energy and the environment but made little progress on human rights issues. However, two weeks later, in what many viewed as a gesture of goodwill, Jiang released Wei Jinsheng, one of China's most prominent political dissidents. After nearly eighteen years in prison, Wei was sent to live in the United States. In addition, the Chinese government agreed to comply with an international pact to support universal standards of political and religious freedom. The Clinton administration responded in March 1998 by agreeing to drop its request that the United Nations censure China for human rights abuses. Clinton and Jiang planned to meet again in June 1998.

The Taiwan Question. When the Chinese Communist Party won the civil war in 1949 and the Nationalists fled to the island of Taiwan (then called Formosa), both governments held hopes of one day reuniting. The rivalry had not ended, however; China claimed rights to Taiwan, while the new Republic of China on Taiwan claimed rights to mainland China. This rivalry has created diplomatic problems for the United States for decades.

From 1949 until 1979, the United States recognized Taiwan, because the U.S. government believed that Taiwan, while undemocratic, was a better ally than communist China. However, when relations between the United States and China began to thaw in the 1970s, Chinese leaders insisted that the United States could recognize only "one China." In order to secure diplomatic ties with China, the United States could no longer formally recognize Taiwan.

Since recognizing China in 1979, the United States has walked a fine line in its relations with Taiwan. Although it no longer provides military protection for the island nation, the United States has continued to sell military equipment to Taiwan, a policy that China fervently denounces. Chinese leaders have threatened to use military force if Taiwan declares independence.

Transfer of Power in Hong Kong. During the 1840s, Great Britain colonized Hong Kong, a Chinese island off the southern coast of the mainland. Since then, Hong Kong has become one of the major commercial hubs of Asia. Hong Kong has well-established democratic principles, such as freedoms of the press, speech, and assembly. On June 30, 1997, however, the territories of the British Crown Colony of Hong Kong were returned to China under the terms of a 1984 agreement. Some Hong Kong residents feared that China's leaders would restrict their freedoms and abolish their nation's newly created legislature. On the other hand, some scholars asserted that

A NEW LEADER IN INDONESIA

Indonesia's former president Suharto was first elected in 1966, following demonstrations against a corrupt president. More than thirty years later, Indonesians began protesting again—this time to remove Suharto. Many Indonesians claimed that Suharto was guilty of nepotism, and they resented the vast wealth amassed by his family. His hold on power slipping, Suharto stepped down in May 1998 and transferred authority to his vice president, B. J. Habibie. Many doubt that Habibie is serious about instituting democratic reform.

In celebrations all over China, fireworks marked the end of British colonial government in Hong Kong. At midnight on June 30, 1997, Hong Kong was peacefully returned to mainland China.

Reuters/STR/Archive Photos

assimilating Hong Kong into an autonomous province of China might also bring notions of democracy and freedom to at least some parts of the mainland.

North and South Korea

The Division of Korea and the Korean War. Japan controlled Korea from 1894 until 1945. When Japan surrendered to the United States and ended World War II, Korea was partitioned into two sections: the North (allied with the Soviet Union) and the South (allied with the United States). In 1948, both superpowers withdrew their forces, but no agreement was reached on reunification.

In June 1950, communist North Korea invaded South Korea. This military action, which was supported by the Soviet Union, was an attempt to unify the two Koreas under communist rule. The United States sent armed forces as part of an allied United Nations "police action" to repel the invasion. The two sides fought to a stalemate and, in July 1953, signed an armistice that established a demilitarized zone between the two Koreas. Forty-five years later, North and South Korea are technically still at war because the armistice did not lead to a permanent peace treaty. Today, the United States keeps about 37,000 troops on the South Korean side of the demilitarized zone.

After the war, North Korea continued under a communist regime; the South remained under a democratic government until a 1961 military coup established authoritarian rule, which lasted until 1992. In December of that year, South Korea held its first fully democratic elections in more than thirty years. North Korea, a hard-line communist state, was ruled by Kim Il Sung from 1948 until his death in July 1994. Since then, his son, Kim Jong Il, has led the country.

North Korea Isolated. While South Korea has made significant economic and democratic progress, North Korea's economic and social conditions have worsened. In 1991, North Korea's ally, the Soviet Union, broke apart. The following year, China, another important North Korean ally, established diplomatic relations with South Korea, an act that North Korea's leaders viewed as a betrayal. This increased isolation and the nation's continued devotion to communism have contributed to the collapse of North Korea's economy and widespread famine.

Reuters/KNS/Archive Photos

After North Korea's "Great Leader" Kim Il Sung died in July 1994, his son, Kim Jong Il (pictured above), became the "Dear Leader." Western experts question the extent of his power and his ability to repair North Korea's shattered economy.

To soothe a potentially desperate and aggressive North Korea, U.S. officials proposed in 1997 that its leaders meet with South Korea's to discuss a permanent peace treaty, the first such meetings since 1953. In another move toward reconciliation, South Korea has supplied humanitarian aid and agricultural supplies to ease the famine in the North.

The new president of South Korea, Kim Dae Jung, elected in December 1997, set out to improve relations with the North. He has agreed to allow South Korean businesses to invest in the North and has encouraged communication between families separated when the country was first divided. A second diplomatic summit between the two, as well as with China and the United States, was held in March 1998. North Korea ended the summit, however, after the United States refused to withdraw its troops from South Korea.

The Asian Economic Crisis

Following Japan's model, most Asian nations have developed capitalist economies and become deeply involved in international trade in the 1980s and 1990s. The emergence of these powerful economies has been called the "East Asian miracle" by some observers. However, in mid-1997, an economic crisis suddenly gripped the region.

Several developing Asian countries—Thailand, Indonesia, Malaysia, and the Philippines—were shaken when their currencies collapsed under bad loans and investments. Because of an unexpected trade deficit, the South Korean government was unable to pay its large foreign debts. Furthermore, Japan's economy, once one of the strongest in the world, has been in recession since the early 1990s. In 1997, it was further damaged when several Japanese bank and finance officials were forced to resign following bribery and corruption scandals.

Thailand, Indonesia, and South Korea were all forced to apply to the International Monetary Fund (IMF) for help paying off their debts and improving

The devaluation of several Southeast Asian currencies in 1997 caused wild fluctuations in stock markets around the world. The Tokyo Stock Exchange, shown here, faced further troubles as financial scandals rocked the Japanese economy.

Reuters/Susumu Takahashi/Archive Photos

ECONOMIC ADVERSITY IN VIETNAM

Vietnam is a country without a stock market or a convertible currency, which initially protected it from the 1997 Asian economic crisis. The Vietnamese economy is slipping nevertheless. Many foreign investors are frustrated by widespread corruption and excessive bureaucracy in Vietnam and are now leaving the country. Half of the country's population lives below the poverty line, and heavy taxes are provoking civil unrest. Le Kha Phieu, the newly appointed Communist Party leader, faces difficult times ahead. Phieu, an anticapitalist conservative, seems intent on preserving the power of the party instead of encouraging economic growth in Vietnam.

their economic systems. The IMF has agreed to provide financial assistance to each country in exchange for serious reforms in banking systems and government regulations. The IMF requires that government spending be drastically reduced, taxes raised, and credit requirements tightened. In Thailand, Indonesia, and South Korea, economic growth is expected to be considerably slower during the next few years.

Economists remain concerned about the effects of the Asian economic crisis on the United States. Experts worry that the decline of the Asian economy might result in less demand for American-made products in the region, which could cause an economic downturn in the United States.

CURRENT ISSUES

U.S. Military in Japan. Ever since U.S. and Japanese leaders signed the Mutual Security Treaty in 1952, the United States has protected Japan with a large military presence in the region—currently 45,000 troops. This large U.S. presence—mostly stationed on the small island of Okinawa—has led to protests by Japanese residents. In 1996, U.S. military leaders agreed to return some land occupied by U.S. military bases. However, attempts to relocate those troops from Japan to other American bases met with great resistance. These events and others have caused some American policymakers to reevaluate the defense policy toward Japan.

Some Americans believe that the United States should close all its military bases in Japan. They point out that the Soviet Union has collapsed and that Japan's security is no longer threatened as it was during the Cold War. Many proponents say that Japan has a strong enough economy and industry to support its own military, while the U.S. government can no longer afford to protect Japan. They point out that Japan has thrived economically—and gained a large trade surplus with the United States—while the U.S. military has spent millions of dollars protecting Japan. Moreover, supporters say that many Japanese citizens resent the U.S. military presence.

However, other Americans believe that maintaining U.S. troops in Asia is important to regional security because it offsets major powers like China and Russia. In addition, they say that a military presence in Japan helps protect shipping lanes that are vital to the U.S. economy. Critics of changing Japan's defense structure argue that if Japan had to raise a bigger army, it could touch off an Asian arms race. As the Japanese army and weapons stockpile grew, neighboring countries might increase their own weapons supplies to prevent possible Japanese aggression. Therefore, many U.S. policymakers believe that the United States should retain its military bases in Japan to avoid these potential crises.

Recognizing Taiwan. Taiwan's President Lee Tung-hui is a supporter of Taiwanese independence. When he ran for reelection in 1996, he was bitterly opposed by China. To intimidate Taiwanese voters into voting against Lee, China conducted military exercises, including missile tests, in the Taiwan Strait—the body of water separating the two countries. American battleships were sent to the area to protect Taiwan and reassure its voters. Despite China's efforts, Lee was easily reelected.

Some policymakers have suggested that the United States once again recognize Taiwan, despite China's opposition to the idea. They point out that Taiwan ranks among the ten largest U.S. trading partners and deserves better treatment. Moreover, they argue that Taiwan has progressed toward democracy and improved its human rights record—achievements China has yet to match.

Others contend that the United States cannot afford to let relations with China deteriorate further by recognizing Taiwan. China's market for U.S. goods and services is too profitable to risk losing. Moreover, the PRC might attack Taiwan if the United States were to upgrade relations. Thus, the U.S. government risks provoking a war in what is an important region to the world economy. Critics of recognizing Taiwan suggest that the United States can help China and Taiwan improve their relations by other, more constructive, measures.

RADIO FREE ASIA

In 1997, the U.S. Congress agreed to fund Radio Free Asia, a network committed to broadcasting accurate and timely news to listeners in Asian countries who may not have access to truthful information from their domestic news media. Radio Free Asia began with a daily thirty-minute broadcast in China and now airs programs in Vietnam, Tibet, North Korea, Laos, Burma, and Cambodia.

Relations with North Korea. During the 1990s, North Korea has become increasingly isolated. It continues to be ruled by a hard-line communist regime despite the fall of the Soviet Union and growing capitalism in China. Peace talks between North and South Korea have failed and the two countries remain technically at war. In addition, the widespread famine could make North Korea desperate enough to deploy its 1.2 million troops and try to seize South Korea, thereby drawing in the 37,000 U.S. troops stationed there. To avoid the possibility of another Korean war, many U.S. policymakers believe that it is time for the United States to lift the economic sanctions enacted almost fifty years ago.

Supporters contend that this action will encourage foreign investment in North Korea and help restore order to the country. Many expect that the growth of the North's economy would encourage both North and South Korea to sign a peace treaty formally ending the Korean War. Once the threat of renewed war had ended, the United States could then withdraw its troops from the Korean peninsula. Furthermore, many experts think that opening the North's economy would lessen its political isolation as well, eventually making the government more receptive to democratic ideas.

However, critics of lifting the sanctions argue that Kim Jong Il and his government cannot be trusted. They believe that without the burden of economic sanctions, the North Koreans would have no incentive to continue peace negotiations with the South. Opponents worry that communist party leaders and the huge military, because they have the most power, would be the first to benefit from outside investments in North Korea. Experts believe that North Korea has remained intact under its hard-line government because everyone is equally poor. The emergence of obvious class differences could result in political destabilization—possibly even a civil war—in North Korea that could ultimately require intervention by U.S. forces.

OUTLOOK

The United States faces many obstacles as it redefines its relationship with this region of vital economic and strategic interest. Although Japan is an important ally in East Asia, some analysts think that in the long term, China will be a bigger player in the region and will present more difficult issues. In the wake of the economic crisis, many U.S. policymakers believe that the United States must find a way to help economic reforms take hold in Asia, while managing trade imbalances and renewing the strength of the East Asian market. Many others are equally determined to end human rights violations in the region. As East Asia becomes a more powerful and influential region of the world, American leaders are finding that building cooperative relationships is challenging in a region that is so culturally different from the United States.

THE DEBATE: EAST ASIA

The United States should withdraw its troops from Japan.

PRO: Now that the Cold War is over, the Mutual Security Treaty of 1952 is no longer necessary. Japan has the economic resources as well as the political legitimacy to defend itself. Moreover, the United States can no longer afford to protect Japan. Japan's economy has flourished partly because it has not had to pay for its own army, navy, and air force. It is time for Japan to provide its own security.

CON: The United States should maintain its bases in Japan because Japan is still vulnerable to China and Russia, and the region is very important to the U.S. economy and security. Moreover, Japan's neighbors still fear a militarized Japan. Thus, if Japan adds to its defense forces, it could set off a dangerous arms race in the region. A strong U.S. presence is necessary for regional stability and peace.

The United States should recognize Taiwan.

PRO: Whether or not it declares independence from the People's Republic of China, Taiwan functions as an independent state. Taiwan ranks among the top ten U.S. trading partners and has one of the strongest economies in East Asia. Taiwanese leaders have been developing a democratic system since 1987, and the country's human rights record has improved. The United States should reward these achievements and recognize Taiwan.

CON: Because Chinese leaders regard the Taiwan issue so seriously, the United States should not get involved. Americans stand to prosper by selling goods and services to mainland China as its economy grows, and the United States cannot afford to have that enormous market closed. Moreover, the United States can play a more constructive role in the region by helping to improve relations between China and Taiwan, not by aggravating them.

The United States should lift the economic sanctions against North Korea.

PRO: The United States should end the sanctions and allow outside investment in North Korea. A strengthening economy in the North might encourage the two Koreas to form a permanent peace agreement. With the possibility of renewed warfare gone, the United States could bring home the troops stationed in South Korea. Moreover, ending North Korea's isolation could help introduce democratic reform in the government.

CON: North Korea remains a dangerous and unpredictable country. If the sanctions were lifted, its government would have no reason to pursue a peace agreement with South Korea. Furthermore, the leaders of the communist party and the military—not the people—would probably be the ones to benefit from foreign investment. This could lead to violent civil unrest or civil war, which could include the U.S. troops in South Korea.

EUROPE AND RUSSIA

During the Cold War, Europe was divided into two competing camps: East and West. Eastern European nations were controlled by the communist Soviet Union, while western Europe, free and democratic, was allied with the United States. For more than forty years, the conflict between East and West dominated U.S. foreign policy.

KEY QUESTIONS

- Is peace in Bosnia a vital U.S. national interest?
- Will NATO expansion harm U.S.-Russian relations?
- Should the United States send economic aid to eastern Europe?

When the Soviet Union broke apart in the early 1990s, the Cold War ended. Eastern European countries moved toward democratic and free-market economic systems, while western Europe—free from the Soviet threat—continued with its plan to integrate its economies into a "United Europe." However, old problems have been replaced by new ones. Throughout most of the 1990s, parts of Europe have been plagued by economic recession, political instability, and nationalism. While nations recover from economic downturns and adjust to new leadership, the ethnic conflicts that tore apart Yugoslavia still exist and, many fear, could flare up in other parts of eastern Europe.

The United States' relationship with Europe has always been important. In the post–Cold War world, Europe remains a key political and economic partner of the United States. Although U.S. and European leaders have reached agreements on trade, they have struggled with several security issues. For example, efforts to expand the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) to include former communist countries in eastern Europe have been met with criticism by those who believe it will jeopardize U.S.-Russian relations.

Europe continues to be a region vital to U.S. security and economic interests. Leaders from both sides of the Atlantic are working to see that the relationship remains constructive into the twenty-first century.

BACKGROUND

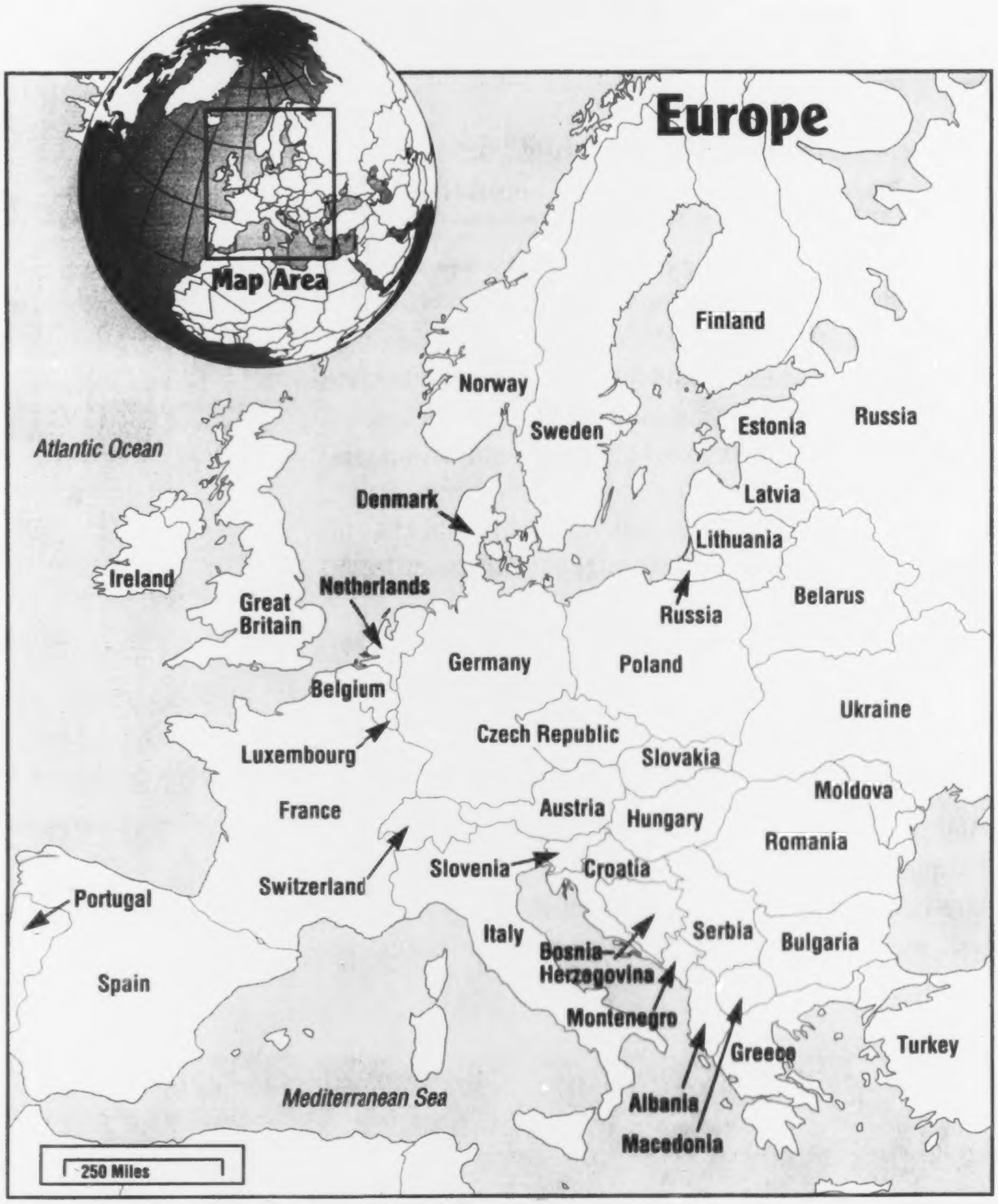
The Cold War

Europe Divided. In February 1945, before World War II had ended, British prime minister Winston Churchill, U.S. president Franklin Roosevelt, and Soviet general secretary Joseph Stalin met at the Soviet resort city of Yalta to discuss the rebuilding of Europe. The three leaders agreed that when the war was over, both Germany and its capital, Berlin, would be divided into occupation zones: France, Great Britain, and the United States would occupy the western zones of Germany and Berlin, and the Soviet Union would occupy the eastern zones. Stalin promised that free elections would be held in all the nations in Europe that his troops had liberated from the Nazis.

However, within weeks after Stalin's forces drove Nazi troops from eastern Europe, the Soviets established communist governments in Poland and Romania. Having been attacked by the Germans twice in twenty-five years, Soviet leaders sought to set up a buffer zone, a geographic area under Soviet control separating Germany from the Soviet Union. The Soviets soon forced communist governments on Hungary and Bulgaria, and native communists seized power in Yugoslavia

National Archives

In February 1945, British prime minister Winston Churchill, U.S. president Franklin Roosevelt, and Soviet general secretary Joseph Stalin met at Yalta to set the stage for the postwar division of Europe.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Romania
Slovenia
Croatia
Switzerland
Portugal
Italy
Serbia
Bulgaria
Bosnia–Herzegovina
Spain
Montenegro
Greece
Turkey
Albania
Mediterranean Sea
Macedonia
250 Miles

and Albania. A heavily guarded border between East and West—the "Iron Curtain"—had been drawn.

Germany became a divided nation. The United States, Great Britain, and France controlled the western part of the country and kept troops in West Berlin, a divided city located 120 miles inside Soviet-controlled East Germany. In July 1948, the United States announced the formation of the Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany). The Soviets responded by declaring East Germany to be the German Democratic Republic in October of that year. The division of Germany into two nations completed the split between the democratic countries of western Europe and the communist countries of eastern Europe.

These events marked the beginning of the Cold War—a conflict between the United States and the Soviet Union fought with propaganda, arms buildups, and attempts to win allies through the use of military and economic aid.

U.S. Policy of Containment. The United States tried to prevent further expansion of communism by "containing" it in areas that were already Soviet-controlled. Containment was carried out on three fronts: (1) economic aid to rebuild western Europe; (2) military assistance to governments challenged by communists; and (3) creation in 1949 of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) to serve as a security curtain around western Europe.

The Marshall Plan and NATO. World War II left much of Europe devastated, its economies ruined, and its people desperate. A foreign aid program called the Marshall Plan (1947–53) provided billions of dollars in U.S. aid, investment, and trade to rebuild western Europe. U.S. officials believed that a strong European economy would prevent a rebirth of fascism or an insurgence of communism, and that a strong European military would keep the Soviets from America's doorstep.

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization, a U.S.-led military alliance, was established in 1949 to deter an armed communist attack in Europe. The twelve original members of NATO were Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, the United Kingdom, and the United States. In 1955, the Soviet Union and its east European allies—Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary, Poland, and Romania—formed a counterpart to NATO called the Warsaw Pact. NATO and the Warsaw Pact stationed thousands of troops, tanks, and combat aircraft on European soil and installed nuclear missiles aimed at each other.

Western Europe Comes Together. After World War II, European leaders believed that with the United States committed to defending their countries in case of Soviet attack, their efforts could be directed toward building an economic framework that would combine their economic and political strengths. Some even called it a "United States of Europe." Such an arrangement could foster mutual economic and defense policies that would make western Europe stronger in the face of the Soviet threat.

After attempts at unification failed in the late 1940s and early 1950s, western European nations in 1957 formed the European Economic Community, also called the European Community or EC. In some ways, EC members—Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, and the United Kingdom—operated as though they were one country. Member countries tried to plan their economies to complement one another and worked together to strengthen European competition

In 1961, Soviet authorities built the Berlin Wall, closing the borders between East and West Berlin. The wall came to symbolize the divide between eastern and western Europe during the Cold War.

National Archives

in the world market by establishing uniform trade rules and policies. EC policies helped create the economic boom that western Europe enjoyed during the 1950s and 1960s.

From the Berlin Wall to *Détente.* U.S.-Soviet relations were extremely tense over the future of Europe in the 1950s and early 1960s. In 1961, the Soviet Union built the Berlin Wall, dividing the German capital in two and closing off access to West Berlin. This dramatic event solidified the division of Europe into competing camps. In the 1960s, leaders in the United States and western Europe believed that it was time to engage the Soviets in constructive negotiations, recognizing that there was not much they could do to change the existing division of Europe. This acknowledgment led to the policy of *détente* in the early 1970s.

Détente (a French word meaning "a relaxation of tensions") reflected the belief that both the United States and the Soviet Union would benefit from maximizing cooperation and minimizing conflict. Between 1972 and 1974, the two nations signed eleven agreements to cooperate in space exploration, agriculture, health, environmental protection, and other areas. Trade opened up, and American corporations and banks established offices in Moscow.

SALT I. The centerpiece of *détente* was the first Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT I) Treaty, signed by President Richard Nixon and Soviet premier Leonid Brezhnev in 1972. The most important part of the SALT I agreement was its limitation of antiballistic missile (ABM) systems designed to intercept and destroy enemy missiles before they reach their targets.

Helsinki Accords. In 1975, leaders from the United States, the Soviet Union, Canada, and thirty-five European countries signed the Helsinki Accords. Under this set of agreements, the West—led by the United States—officially recognized the post–World War II

THE DEMILITARIZATION OF EUROPE

In recent years, the United States, Russia and the other former Soviet republics, and European nations signed treaties that eliminated certain kinds of nuclear weapons in Europe and reduced conventional weapons, including tanks, artillery pieces, armored combat vehicles, aircraft, and helicopters. In addition, leaders from the former Soviet republics have removed the 380,000 troops they had stationed in eastern Germany and are laying plans to withdraw from the other east European countries as well. In 1997, American troops in Europe numbered around 100,000, down from a high of about 300,000 during the 1980s.

borders of eastern Europe. In return, the Soviet Union promised to increase intellectual freedom and human rights within its eastern bloc.

SALT II. In 1979, President Jimmy Carter and Premier Brezhnev signed the second Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT II) Treaty. However, when the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan in December 1979, President Carter withdrew the treaty from consideration by the Senate and boycotted the 1980 Olympics in Moscow. The Soviets felt betrayed, and U.S.-Soviet relations deteriorated.

New Soviet Leadership. When Mikhail Gorbachev became the new Soviet leader in 1985, he immediately set out to usher in a new cooperative phase in U.S.-Soviet relations. Gorbachev established more friendly and flexible relations with the United States, with other communist states, and with the Soviet people. He also introduced the policies of *glasnost* (openness) and *perestroika* (restructuring), both designed to slowly introduce the Soviet Union to democratic ideals and economic reforms. The results turned the Soviet Union away from its hard-line communist past and closer to a free-market, democratic future.

The Breakup of the Soviet Union, 1989–91

Communism Falls in Eastern Europe. In 1989, communist governments in six eastern European countries gave up power after thousands of their citizens demonstrated in favor of democracy and free-market economies. President Gorbachev refrained from sending in troops, as other Soviet leaders had done in the past, to keep the communists in power. The Berlin Wall—separating East and West Berlin—was torn down in front of crowds of cheering spectators. The Soviets later agreed to allow the unification of East and West Germany. In 1991, Gorbachev disbanded the Warsaw Pact.

The Reunification of Germany. When East Germany abandoned communism, the question of reunification with West Germany was immediately raised. The four victorious powers from World War II—France, Great Britain, the Soviet Union, and the United States—and the two German countries began reunification negotiations in May 1990. When the Soviet Union agreed to allow a united Germany to join NATO, the final barrier to reunification fell. The economies of the two countries were joined in July 1990, when East Germany adopted the West German deutsche mark as its currency. Political union followed in October of that year.

Economic and Political Turmoil. Mikhail Gorbachev's popularity at home suffered as the Soviet economy deteriorated. In 1990, independence movements swept through the Soviet Baltic republics of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania. When Lithuania and Latvia attempted to break away from the Soviet Union, they received worldwide support. However, Gorbachev refused to recognize their actions, and he sent troops to crack down on the growing independence movements. These events demonstrated that it was going to be difficult for Gorbachev to strike a balance between promoting democracy in the Soviet Union and keeping the union of fifteen republics together.

By early 1991, six Soviet republics had declared independence. Meanwhile, the nine remaining republics demanded more autonomy. Eastern Europe was no longer under Soviet control, free-market economics threatened to dismantle communism, and the union was in jeopardy. In August 1991, hard-line communists in the government staged a coup, arresting Gorbachev and taking control of the country. Boris Yeltsin, president of the Russian republic, immediately mobilized opposition in Moscow, which spread throughout the country. After only three days, the coup collapsed. Gorbachev returned to power, but his authority and credibility as a leader had been irreparably damaged.

More republics announced their independence after the failed coup. Yeltsin, a national hero, was seen as the leader who could guide the republics toward independence and economic and political renewal.

Reuters/Alexander Natruskin/Archive Photos

Russian president Boris Yeltsin announced in March 1998 that he will not run for reelection in 2000. Although most experts expect him to pick a successor to run for president, they wonder if Russian voters will be satisfied enough with the pace of economic reform to support Yeltsin's choice.

The Commonwealth of Independent States. Although Mikhail Gorbachev was prepared to give the republics even more autonomy, he wanted to hold the Soviet Union together. However, on December 21, 1991, Russia's Yeltsin and the leaders of Ukraine and Belarus created the Commonwealth of Independent States and declared that the Soviet Union no longer existed. Gorbachev announced his resignation as the last leader of the Soviet Union on December 25, 1991, and relinquished control of the nuclear arsenal to Yeltsin. Eventually, eleven of the fifteen former Soviet republics joined the Commonwealth of Independent States. The republics pledged to implement free-market economic reforms, respect the territorial integrity of the other states, and guarantee their citizens equal rights and freedoms. Western nations immediately recognized the new governments of Russia and the other former Soviet republics.

Europe and Russia in the 1990s

The end of the Cold War brought about dramatic changes. Some were welcome as democracy and economic reforms took hold throughout eastern Europe. However, old problems emerged as the region soon discovered that more freedom and autonomy also created conflict and even bloodshed.

Economic and Political Transformation in Russia. Because almost none of the basic institutions of a free-market economy—such as private ownership, regulations for business and industry, and banking and loan procedures—were in place when the Soviet Union collapsed in 1991, Russia had to start from scratch. It had to contend with aging factories, the loss of raw materials to the now-independent republics that had previously supplied the Soviet Union's resources, and a workforce unaccustomed to the perils of wage fluctuation and job insecurity associated with capitalism. These and other problems have been disastrous for the Russian economy. The unemployment rate in Russia is high, and there has been such a shortage of cash that many companies pay their workers with goods rather than money. Experts claim that if all employers had to pay out cash wages, the unemployment rate would skyrocket.

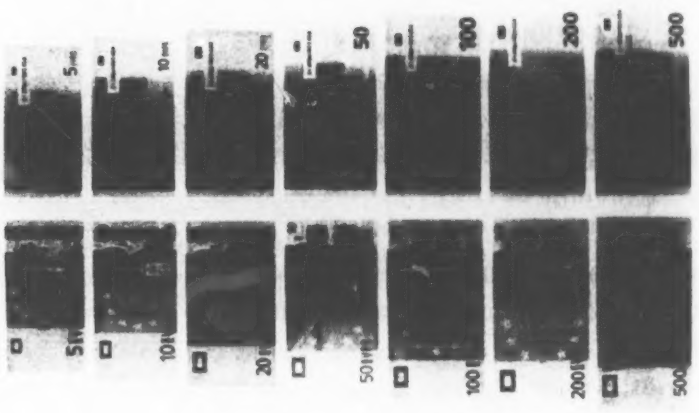
To address these economic emergencies, President Boris Yeltsin introduced economic "shock therapy"—radical measures to quickly transform Russia's centrally controlled economy into a free-market system. However, the policies have come under fire by many Russians who charge that they are too drastic and have created more problems than they have solved. President Yeltsin also implemented an ambitious privatization program to sell state-owned assets to Russian citizens and encourage worker ownership and entrepreneurship. An underlying purpose of the privatization plan was to build public support for Yeltsin's programs, but the results have been mixed.

Presidential Elections. Slow economic progress made Boris Yeltsin politically vulnerable as the 1996 presidential elections grew nearer. He had reason to worry. In the 1995 parliamentary elections, the Communist Party prevailed over Yeltsin's Reform Party and others, winning 157 of 355 seats—enough to make it the strongest party in parliament. These elections were viewed as a sign that the Russian people were growing weary of Yeltsin's reforms. In addition, there were questions about the Russian leader's failing health.

The 1996 presidential election was a race between President Yeltsin; the Communist candidate, Gennady Zyuganov; and several other candidates. Neither Yeltsin or Zyuganov won an absolute majority (more than 50 percent of the vote), so runoff elections were scheduled for July. Rejecting a return to communism, the voters reelected Yeltsin.

A Shake-up in the Cabinet. In 1997, the Russian economy showed signs of stabilizing. However, in March 1998, President Yeltsin fired his entire cabinet, shocking the Russian people. As observers wondered why he took this drastic action, concerns again arose over Yeltsin's physical and mental well-being. The Russian leader stated that he was unsatisfied with the pace of economic reforms and wanted to bring in a government that was more committed to that mission. With another round of parliamentary elections scheduled for 1999 and a presidential election slated for 2000 (Yeltsin has announced that he will not seek another term), international observers question whether reforms will survive if communist or nationalist candidates do well with the voters.

The Road to European Unity. As Russia and the other former Soviet republics struggled with their transition to democracy and capitalism, the European Community was working to integrate the economies of western Europe. In 1985, EC leaders decided to create a single European market where money, people, and goods could cross borders freely. This "Fortress Europe" would be the world's largest and wealthiest free-trade market and, many hoped, would usher in an era of economic prosperity for the whole continent. In January 1992, European leaders signed the Maastricht Treaty, which outlined plans for monetary union, the creation of a single currency, and the coordination of EC foreign and defense policies.



Reuters/HO/Archive Photos

In 1999, eleven of the fifteen countries of the European Union will begin using the euro—the single currency of Europe. Pictured here are designs for the new euro bills.

However, the road to their nations' approval of European unity hit major economic and political obstacles. Continuing economic problems across the continent soured many Europeans on the idea of economic integration with their neighbors. After bruising political battles in France and Great Britain over European unification, the Maastricht Treaty was finally approved by member nations. On November 1, 1993, the European Union (EU) officially went into effect, replacing the European Community.

The Euro. In December 1996, the EU countries came to an agreement on a single European currency, called the "euro"—the cornerstone of the European Union. Many nations initially bristled at the agreement, fearing that countries with weak economies would undermine nations with stronger economies. Under the new plan, however, countries that maintain budget deficits of more than 3 percent of their gross domestic product risk paying substantial fines.

The single-currency plan will take effect January 1, 1999, with eleven of the fifteen members of the EU prepared to replace their respective currencies with the euro. The first step will be the trading of the euro on international exchanges; the actual paper notes and coins will not be introduced until 2002. However, many observers are skeptical that the euro can succeed, believing that the economies, political systems, and cultures in Europe are too fragmented to maintain a single currency.

The Rise of Nationalism. Since the end of the Cold War, parts of eastern Europe have seen the reemergence of nationalism. Nationalism—a people's devotion to its religion, culture, or ethnicity—has been an important force in practically all major international conflicts of the twentieth century.

In 1991, Yugoslavia was torn apart by ethnic hatred and fierce nationalism. Yugoslavia had been created after World War I when six formerly independent republics—Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia, and Slovenia—were joined. Tensions among Yugoslavia's ethnically and religiously different populations ran deep, but communist rule suppressed potential conflicts for forty years.

After Soviet domination over eastern Europe ended in 1990, Serbia, the largest and most militarily powerful of the Yugoslav republics, began a campaign to unite the other territories under the banner of "Greater Serbia." In June 1991, Croatia declared its independence and seceded from Yugoslavia. Serbian president Slobodan

SIEGE OF KOSOVO

PEACE AND FREEDOM
IN
KOSOVA

Reuters/Petar Kujundzic/Archive Photos

Kosovo is a province of Serbia, the largest republic in what remains of Yugoslavia. However, about 90 percent of Kosovo's 2 million people are Albanians. The Albanian majority wants to secede from Serbia, or at least be given more autonomy. In March 1998, Serbian president Slobodan Milosevic ordered troops into Kosovo to crack down on a separatist uprising, which resulted in the deaths of more than eighty Albanian women and children. In response, the United Nations imposed an arms embargo on Serbia and called on the two sides to reach an agreement giving the Albanian majority "meaningful self-administration." International observers hope that such an agreement is reached before another war in the Balkans flares up.

Milosevic sent troops into Croatia to stop the move, but Croatia won its independence after a bloody conflict. Soon the heavily Muslim republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina followed Croatia's lead and declared its independence. Encouraged by Milosevic, the Serb minority living in Bosnia declared war, with the goal of creating their own Serb-controlled country within Bosnia.

The conflict between the Serbs, Muslims, and Croats turned much of Bosnia into a war zone. The world was shocked as reports emerged describing devastating human rights abuses committed by Serb troops, including "ethnic cleansing"—the random detention and murder of Muslim and Croat men, women, and children. However, as world leaders realized that the violence could spill over into neighboring European countries, the international community made resolution of the conflict a priority.

After almost four years of war that produced 250,000 dead and 3 million refugees, leaders of Bosnia, Croatia, and Serbia signed a peace treaty (the Dayton Accords) that divided Bosnia into two entities: a Muslim-Croat federation and a Serb republic. Sarajevo, the capital of Bosnia, is located in the Muslim-Croat federation. In December 1995, President Bill Clinton sent 20,000 U.S. troops to be part of a NATO peacekeeping force in Bosnia.

Although the fighting in Bosnia has been largely eliminated by the presence of foreign troops, ethnic rivalries continue to simmer. American troops were scheduled to leave Bosnia after one year, but President Clinton announced in early 1997 that some U.S. soldiers would remain in Bosnia indefinitely.

CURRENT ISSUES

U.S. Troops in Bosnia. U.S. and European backers, acknowledging that the peace in Bosnia is fragile, sent 60,000 NATO troops to police the war-torn country. Since 1997, the size of the peacekeeping force has been scaled back to about 31,000 troops. The American share of the peacekeeping force has also been reduced; by

In 1998, the U.S. Senate approved the admission of three eastern European nations into NATO. However, it may cost the United States and its European allies billions of dollars in new equipment to bring the militaries of these countries in line with NATO standards.

U.S. Department of Defense

June 1998, the number of U.S. troops will be 6,900, down from 7,800 the previous year. However, the presence of American soldiers in a small, war-torn eastern European country has been a source of controversy in the United States ever since.

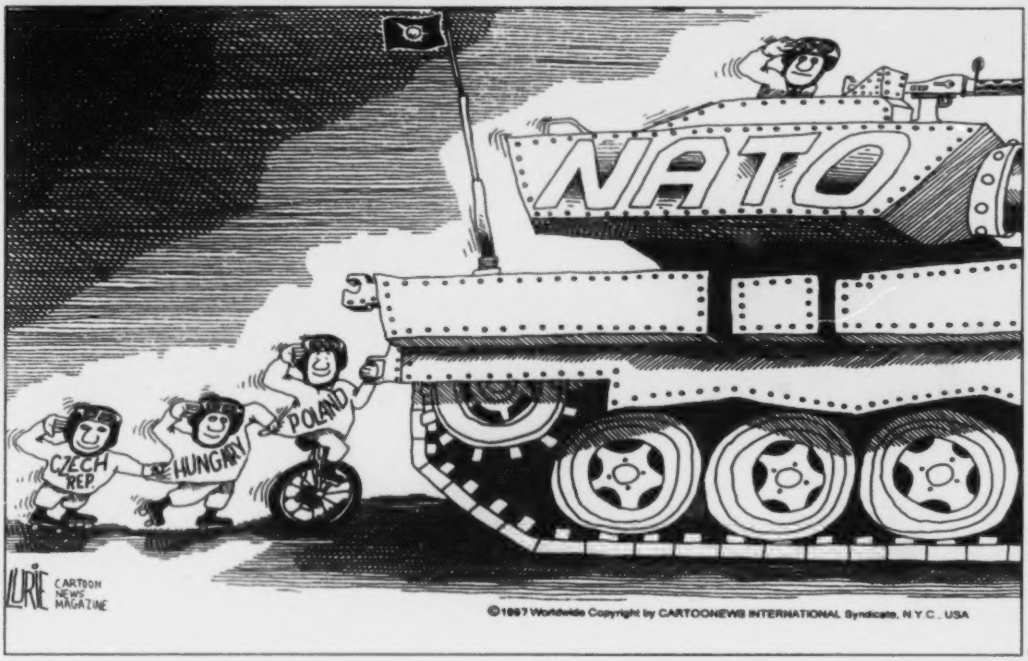
Some experts think that protecting Europe's political stability is in America's national interest. Supporters of the U.S. military operation in Bosnia believe that the preservation of peace is impossible without the presence of a formidable peacekeeping force that includes U.S. soldiers. They warn that ignoring Bosnia could result in a series of nationalistic conflicts throughout Europe and point to the violence in the Serbian province of Kosovo in 1998 as evidence that ethnic warfare can flare up again. In addition, they argue that the peace treaty may collapse without strong U.S. support. President Clinton and other officials also believe that the United States has a moral responsibility to prevent future atrocities in Bosnia.

However, critics wonder what national interest is being served by risking American lives in the aftermath of a war in a small eastern European country. They believe that building a lasting peace in Bosnia should be the responsibility of European leaders only. Furthermore, some members of Congress doubt that Americans want to continue to finance the cost of the operation and think that an extended American presence in Bosnia will entangle the United States in a foreign struggle among ethnic and religious groups.

Expanding NATO. The North Atlantic Treaty Organization was formed in 1949 to protect its members—the United States, Canada, and most of western Europe—from the Soviet Union. Countries in NATO agree to offer assistance to each other in the event of military aggression and consider "an armed attack on one . . . as an armed attack on them all." The United States is the most powerful member of NATO.

To be admitted into the alliance, a country must demonstrate its military strength, governmental stability, and loyalty to the other member nations. Many U.S. officials have proposed expanding NATO, despite protests from Russia, which sees this as a threat to its national security. Nevertheless, NATO has agreed to offer membership to Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic. The United States and its allies hope to appease Russia by not installing NATO nuclear weapons in new member countries.

Many U.S. policymakers, including President Clinton, believe that NATO should allow Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic to join the alliance. In April 1998, the U.S. Senate approved the expansion of NATO. This could eventually lead to the inclusion of other eastern European nations, such as Slovenia, Estonia, Bulgaria, and Romania. Supporters believe that expanding NATO will further advance democratic reforms in eastern Europe and provide these nations with a buffer against Russia if that nation's government were to turn hostile. In addition, new members could lighten the burden on the United States and others in peacekeeping



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missions in Europe, including the operation in Bosnia. Moreover, proponents argue, expanding NATO would ensure the United States a strong leadership role in Europe for years to come.

However, the expansion of NATO has many critics. Some foreign policy experts say that these potential new members do not have the military strength or political stability needed to live up to their end of the bargain. Some critics estimate that it could cost the United States more than $125 billion over the next five years to bring the militaries of these nations in line with NATO standards. Another concern is that the United States would risk costly foreign military involvements if it were obligated to defend the new allies. Moreover, building military alliances with former Soviet allies could enflame anti-Western sentiment in the Russian government, which some U.S. officials believe is a risk not worth taking. They argue that a larger NATO will in the long run do little for, and could in fact undermine, peace and security in Europe.

Aid to Eastern Europe. When the countries of eastern Europe took steps to abandon their communist systems in favor of democratic and economic reforms, their economies were in ruins. Factories were outdated, and productivity was low. Eastern European economies were years behind those in the West. As the former communist countries began to adopt free-market systems, they often suffered from high inflation, decline in output, and unemployment.

Some members of Congress want to set up an economic aid program to help those countries establish market-oriented economic systems. They say that the United States should help rebuild the economies of eastern Europe in the aftermath of the Cold War, just as it helped rebuild western Europe after World War II. They call for programs to send U.S. funds to the former communist nations, reduce or eliminate their debts, provide management training, and encourage investment. The United States gave more than $300 million in foreign aid to eastern Europe in 1997; one-fifth of that amount went to Poland. Some members of Congress say that more aid is needed. They believe that American aid will encourage these countries to continue to adopt the difficult economic reforms that will eventually benefit their people and provide more markets for U.S. goods.

Other U.S. senators and representatives think that the United States should not increase foreign aid to eastern Europe, arguing that the U.S. government cannot afford to increase foreign aid when it faces economic problems and a huge national debt at home. Opponents of aid to eastern Europe argue that the world's poorest nations in Africa and the important strategic allies of the United States in the Middle East will suffer unfairly if more aid is diverted to eastern Europe. Other U.S. policymakers argue that the United States should delay giving aid until it is clear that these new eastern European governments are truly on their way to becoming free, democratic societies.

OUTLOOK

The United States has made a firm commitment to provide peace and stability in Europe for more than fifty years. The Marshall Plan and NATO were established to protect western Europe from the Soviet Union. Today, the United States is helping the region by enforcing a peace treaty ending a civil war and offering NATO membership to those countries once controlled by the Soviet Union. U.S. and Russian leaders continue to work together to reduce nuclear arsenals and promote economic reforms in Russia. However, with all the success of the past few years, uncertainty remains over how Russia will react in the long term to NATO expansion and if economic reforms will survive after Boris Yeltsin leaves office.

THE DEBATE: EUROPE AND RUSSIA

Peace in Bosnia is a vital U.S. interest.

PRO: Without a U.S. military presence, peace in Bosnia will not last. A stable Europe is in America's national interest, and as long as there is ethnic conflict in the region, political stability will be hard to attain. Without strong U.S. leadership, the fragile peace will crumble and ethnic warfare will resume. Keeping American troops in Bosnia is the only option to preventing further war.

CON: The United States has no vital national interest in the former Yugoslavia. U.S. troops should not be asked to risk their lives to keep the peace in a small eastern European nation of little value to American strategic interests. European troops are the only ones that should be enforcing the peace agreement. The complex ethnic disputes are not going to go away because U.S. troops are patrolling the area.

Expanding NATO will harm U.S.-Russian relations.

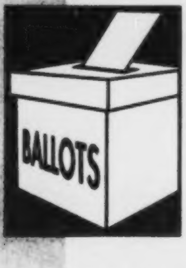
PRO: Because many in the Russian government view NATO expansion as a threat, forging military alliances with former Soviet republics will undermine U.S.-Russian relations. This is a big risk to take when NATO expansion will do little to improve European security. In addition, the extra expense in bringing these countries' armed forces up to NATO standards is not worth jeopardizing relations with Russia.

CON: NATO expansion is an essential component of U.S. European foreign policy in the 1990s. It will ensure greater teamwork among nations and greater security. A larger NATO will foster the growth of democracy in the eastern European region. The Russian government may not support NATO expansion, but they have too much to risk by isolating their country from the United States and the rest of Europe.

The United States should continue to send aid to eastern European countries.

PRO: The United States should continue to help rebuild the economies of eastern Europe. Money from the United States encourages the eastern European governments to further their economic reforms. If economic aid helps accomplish this goal, the United States will have new trading partners and be able to reduce spending on U.S. defense in Europe.

CON: Many eastern European countries, especially Poland, have seen their economies grow substantially over the past couple of years. Foreign aid from the United States is no longer needed. There are many other regions around the world in parts of East Asia and Africa that are in dire need of more financial assistance. Money that goes to Europe could be going to more impoverished nations.



LATIN AMERICA

In the early 1990s, Latin America—Mexico, Central America, South America, and the Caribbean—underwent a democratic and economic transformation. Military dictatorships fell, popular elections were held, and free-market economies began to take hold.

In contrast, the 1980s saw the region suffering through economic decline, war, communist insurgencies, and political instability. Greatly concerned by the region's crises, U.S. leaders provided economic and military aid to Central American and Caribbean countries to keep communism out of the Western Hemisphere. In light of its tumultuous past, the recent changes in Latin America have been remarkable.

KEY QUESTIONS

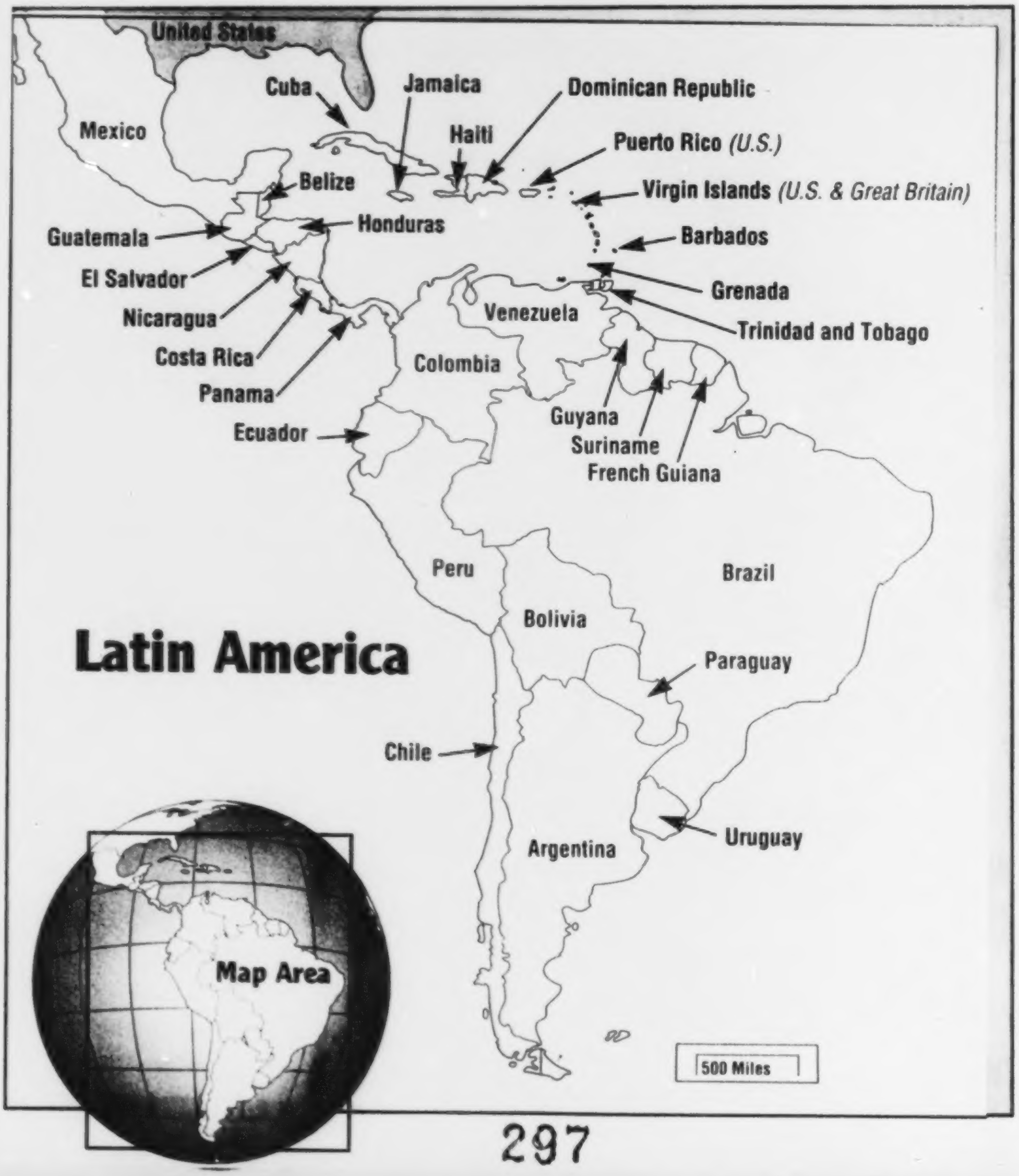
- Should the United States lift the economic embargo against Cuba?
- Should the United States and Latin America establish a free-trade zone?
- Should the United States use military means to combat the Latin American drug trade?

Yet despite recent gains, some U.S. officials continue to have doubts about the stability and future of many Latin American countries. Some groups, disillusioned by persistent poverty, have staged terrorist backlashes against economic reform in Mexico and Peru. Many U.S. leaders are also concerned about the increasing influence of drug cartels in Latin American politics. However, others believe that these problems can be overcome and should not prevent the United States from expanding free trade beyond the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) to include countries in Central and South America. The course of action U.S. policymakers decide to take could determine the future of democracy in the entire region.

BACKGROUND

Mexico

Although Mexico is part of North America, it has more in common with its neighbors to the south than with the United States and Canada. Nevertheless, Mexico and the United States have had close relations for many years. The two countries share a 2,000-mile border, and Mexico is the United States' third-largest trading


United States
Mexico
Cuba
Jamaica
Haiti
Dominican Republic
Puerto Rico (U.S.)
Virgin Islands (U.S. & Great Britain)
Belize
Honduras
Guatemala
El Salvador
Nicaragua
Costa Rica
Panama
Barbados
Grenada
Trinidad and Tobago
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French Guiana
Peru
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500 Miles

partner (after Canada and Japan). In 1994, the North American Free Trade Agreement went into effect, gradually phasing out barriers to trade among the United States, Mexico, and Canada.

Unlike many countries in Latin America, Mexico has been relatively stable politically. Beginning in 1929, the Institutional Revolution Party, known as the PRI, held on to power for nearly seventy years. However, many believe that the PRI kept power through corruption and fraudulent elections. From 1988 to 1994, President Carlos Salinas de Gortari radically reformed Mexico's economy and helped negotiate NAFTA.

Still, Mexico's economy continued to lag during the Salinas presidency because the government funded economic growth primarily by borrowing money from other countries rather than by building domestic industries. Even though Mexicans earn more money per year than do residents in most other Latin American countries, many of its people live in poverty.

Ernesto Zedillo Ponce de León—also a member of the PRI—became president in December 1994 after what was considered a fair and open election. He promised to reform Mexico's economy and government. That month, officials lifted Mexico's fixed exchange rate against the U.S. dollar, resulting in an economic crisis. The United States and other foreign governments gave more than $50 billion in loan guarantees to stabilize Mexico's debt-ridden economy. By 1997 the Mexican government had repaid the U.S. loan. As a result, Mexico's economy grew and foreign investment in that country improved.

Mexico and the Drug Trade. Every year, the president of the United States must notify Congress which countries are cooperating in the fight against illegal drugs, a process called "certification." Those countries that do not cooperate face economic sanctions, including the suspension of U.S. foreign aid. In 1997, members of Congress grew increasingly concerned that Mexican officials, particularly law enforcement personnel, were so corrupted by drug money that they could no longer counteract the drug problem. For example, in February, the military officer in charge of Mexico's antidrug programs was arrested on narcotics charges. Bitter congressional debates about Mexican certification caused concern about possible "decertification" and resulting strains in U.S.-Mexican ties. Although U.S. leaders did certify Mexico that year, the question of how to curb the flow of illegal drugs into the United States continues to be a source of tension between the two nations.

A Political Shake-Up. In July 1997, Mexican voters, for the first time ever, denied the PRI its grip on the lower house of Mexico's congress. Though it remains the largest party, the PRI lost the overall majority that enabled congress to be a "rubber stamp" to the president's policies. The opposition majority, the Democratic Revolutionary Party (PRD), wants to address the needs of Mexico's poor. Nevertheless, many U.S. policymakers hope that the rise of true multiparty politics does not derail economic and institutional reforms in Mexico.

Reuters/Daniel Aguilar/Archive Photos

In a dramatic 1997 election, Mexican voters chose Cuauhtemoc Cardenas (shown here with hand raised), an opposition candidate, as the new mayor of Mexico City. Observers are anxious to see whether Cardenas is cooperative or confrontational with rival PRI officials.

Central America

Central America is a group of seven nations located between Mexico and South America. Many of the countries in the region have, at times, been ruled by military dictatorships, and the region has experienced civil war and poverty in recent years.

Nicaragua. After forty-five years of dictatorial rule by the corrupt Somoza family, a civil war erupted in Nicaragua in 1977. The Somoza regime was overthrown by a popular opposition movement made up of a procommunist group—the Sandinista National Liberation Front—and several other political factions representing both impoverished Nicaraguans and the middle class. The Sandinista government, led by President Daniel Ortega, maintained close ties to the Soviet Union and Cuba and received millions of dollars in economic and military aid from those two nations. In response to Ortega's procommunist government, the United States enacted a trade embargo against Nicaragua and backed anti-government rebels, known as the *contras.*

In 1989, Ortega agreed to a regional peace plan whereby the *contra* forces would be disbanded if Ortega's government held democratic elections. To the surprise of many, Ortega lost that election to the U.S.-backed opposition candidate, Violeta Chamorro. However, Sandinista leaders continued to hold powerful positions in the military. When Ortega ran for president again in 1996, Arnoldo Aleman, a right-wing candidate, defeated him. Aleman pledged to work with his opponents to improve Nicaragua's economy.

"CENTRAL" AND "LATIN" AMERICA

"Central America" is the term used to describe the countries north of South America and south of Mexico. These countries include Belize, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Panama. "Latin America" is a more general term that refers to countries in the southern half of the Western Hemisphere, where the people speak Spanish, Portuguese, and French—languages that derive from Latin. However, not all of Latin America is truly "Latin." For instance, Belize, a former British colony, uses English as its official language, and Dutch is spoken in Suriname.

South America

South America is the fourth largest of the world's seven continents and is made up of thirteen nations with great geographic, climatic, and cultural diversity. For most of the twentieth century, political elites—primarily military officers—controlled the thirteen countries. Recently, democratic movements have brought free elections and free-market economic policies to many South American countries, opening the door for expanding diplomatic and trade relations with the United States and the rest of the world.

Colombia. Located in the northwest of South America, Colombia, the oldest democracy on the continent, has been under constant siege by political and criminal factions for more than forty years. Colombia has a long history of violence, seen most vividly in recent years in the war between the government and the drug cartels. Colombia has been called the "cocaine capital of the world," responsible for growing and manufacturing 75 percent of the world supply. By 1996, Colombia had also begun to dominate the burgeoning world heroin market, providing nearly 65 percent of that drug coming into the United States. Despite periodic government crackdowns, drug traffickers continue to wield considerable power in the country and have been responsible for much of Colombia's domestic crime and terrorism.

In 1996, Colombian president Ernesto Samper was accused of accepting campaign money from the Cali drug cartel. Consequently, President Clinton decertified Colombia in 1996 and 1997, and U.S. foreign aid ceased. The United States may not recertify Colombia until its citizens elect a new president in 1998.

Peru. Like many other South American countries, Peru has a long history of rule by dictators and military-backed governments. In 1980 the military stepped aside, and Peru began the longest uninterrupted democratic period in its 177-year history. That decade, however, was marred by high inflation, political corruption, and the government's war with a left-wing guerrilla group known as the Shining Path. Shining Path terrorist attacks on government officials and facilities and on civilians crippled Peru's leadership.

In 1990, Alberto Fujimori was elected president after promising to crack down on both the Shining Path and corruption. In 1992, Fujimori suspended the constitution and imposed censorship on the press, saying these actions were necessary to battle the Shining Path. Many nations denounced what they called Fujimori's authoritarian rule. However, Fujimori did have success combating terrorism. In December 1996, another terrorist group, known as the Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement, took hundreds of foreign diplomats hostage in the Japanese embassy to express their dissatisfaction with the economy. In April, President Fujimori organized a surprise raid that killed all fourteen rebels and freed the remaining captives. In spite of Fujimori's victory, experts think that terrorism will remain a problem in Peru until the economy improves.

AP Photo/Martin Mejia

In April 1997, President Alberto Fujimori of Peru (pictured here with walkie-talkie) launched one of the most successful attacks against terrorism in recent history. Some observers fear that increasing terrorism and violent crime might signal a backlash against economic reform in Latin America.

Chile. Like many other South American countries, Chile was for many years led by a military dictator, General Augusto Pinochet. In 1973, Pinochet staged a military coup and began reversing the socialist economic policies of the previous, democratically elected, civilian government. Although his free-market economic policies brought more prosperity to Chile, Pinochet was a ruthless dictator. During his rule, more than 1,000 Chileans disappeared and died, and thousands more were tortured and exiled.

In 1990, Pinochet ceded the presidency to a popularly elected government, but he retained his role as commander in chief of the army until his retirement in 1998. Current president Eduardo Frei has continued free-market economic policies, while trying to bring the military under more civilian control. Chile's thriving economy, low inflation and unemployment, and strong peso make it the next likely country to join NAFTA.

The Caribbean

The Caribbean consists of a group of island nations—including Cuba, Haiti, the Dominican Republic, and Jamaica—stretching from near the coast of Florida to the northern coast of South America. Many different cultures and ethnic groups make up the Caribbean population. The area, parts of which are a short boat ride away from southern Florida, has long been of interest to the United States.

Cuba. The large Caribbean island of Cuba, located just ninety miles from Florida, has the only remaining military government in Latin America and one of the few remaining communist regimes in the world. Cuba's leader, Fidel Castro, came to power in 1959 and immediately instituted a communist-style program of economic and social changes.

By 1960, Castro's belligerent anti-Americanism, human rights violations, and growing ties to the Soviet Union had seriously strained Cuba's relations with the United States. When Castro seized U.S. assets in Cuba, President Dwight Eisenhower retaliated by stopping trade with the island nation. In 1962, the Cuban missile crisis prompted President John Kennedy to put U.S. military forces on alert until the Soviets agreed to abandon their plan to place nuclear missiles in Cuba.

When the Soviet Union dissolved in 1991, Cuba's traditional lifeline of economic and political support was cut. Meanwhile, the U.S. trade embargo continued. Despite severe economic and social problems in his country, Castro remains committed to communism.

In March 1996, President Bill Clinton expanded the reach of the U.S. economic embargo when he signed the Helms-Burton Act into law. This law seeks to prevent other nations from trading with Cuba by punishing them when they do. Though it was initially met with protests from U.S. trading partners, in December 1996, countries in the European Union agreed in part with the U.S. position. Since the Helms-Burton Law went into effect, new investment has slowed in Cuba, but most companies already there have not withdrawn. In a 1997 report to the United Nations (UN), Cuba estimated that the thirty-five-year trade embargo had cost the island $60 billion.

Haiti. In 1804, Haiti became an independent country—the first Latin American country to win independence from its colonizer (France). However, Haiti is also the most impoverished country in the Western Hemisphere and one of the least developed in the world.

Throughout most of its history, Haiti has been governed by authoritarian regimes. François "Papa Doc" Duvalier ruled Haiti from the 1950s through the 1970s; his son, Jean Claude, took over in 1980 but was ousted in 1986. In 1990, Jean-Bertrand Aristide became Haiti's first democratically elected leader. However, Aristide was overthrown by the Haitian military and had to flee the country in September 1991. The United States and the United Nations imposed an economic embargo on Haiti to pressure the coup leaders to step down and allow Aristide to return. As a result, several thousand Haitian refugees attempted to emigrate to the United States to escape the terrible economic and social conditions.

The Haitian military finally relinquished power and Aristide was allowed to return in October 1994, with the assistance of troops sent to Haiti by the United States and the United Nations. In February 1996, political power was peacefully transferred from one democratically elected leader, Aristide, to another, president René Préval. Though U.S. peacekeeping troops withdrew from the country in February 1996, two smaller UN missions followed. In November 1997, the mission charged with training the Haitian police force expired. However, Haiti's democratic institutions—government, civil service, and justice system—remained in tatters.

U.S. Foreign Policy in Latin America

Until recently, most Latin American countries had military leaders, communist insurgencies or regimes, closed economies, and poverty-stricken populations. During the Cold War, U.S. leaders implemented policies in Latin America to contain communism and to counteract conditions—such as poverty and economic decline—that encouraged Marxist rebellions. As democracy and market economic reform began to spread throughout the region in the 1990s, American officials developed policies to strengthen the economic relationship between the United States and many Latin American countries.

Economic Aid. In the 1960s, President John Kennedy created the Alliance for Progress, an economic aid program that provided government funds for roads, schools, hospitals, and water projects. However, the aid did not put an end to social and economic inequities in the region. In the mid-1970s, the United States stopped giving aid to some of these countries after President Jimmy Carter accused their governments of human rights abuses. In 1982, Congress passed the Caribbean Basin Initiative, which gave large amounts of economic aid to the countries of the Caribbean and Central America, special duty-free status to products made in the Caribbean, and tax incentives to U.S. businesses that invested in the region.

FREE PRESS IN LATIN AMERICA

Today the Latin American press is freer and more robust than it was ten years ago. As democracies institute reforms, journalists often take the lead in exposing corruption and investigating drug trafficking. However, for a growing number of editors and writers, such stories cost them their lives. Since 1988, 173 journalists have been killed in Latin America, approximately one-third of the world total. Many of those cases have so far gone unpunished. Observers worry that unless powerful political and drug-ring leaders are tried and sentenced, they could threaten the future of democracy in the region.

The Reagan Doctrine. When he came to office in 1980, President Ronald Reagan strengthened the U.S. presence in Central America. He supplied large amounts of economic and military aid to U.S. allies there in an effort to curb the perceived threat to U.S. security from communist insurgents supported by the Soviet Union and Cuba. Reagan also sent troops to the small island nation of Grenada to quickly put down a communist rebellion in 1983.

During his second term, President Reagan lobbied Congress for support for the *contra* rebels trying to unseat the communist leadership in Nicaragua. In

1986, a reluctant Congress approved $100 million in military and "humanitarian" aid for the *contras*. Later that year, the Reagan administration revealed that White House staff member Lt. Col. Oliver North had already secretly sent millions of dollars to the *contras* in Nicaragua without congressional approval, diverting profits from clandestine U.S. arms sales to Iran. This incident, known as the Iran/*contra* scandal, became a major source of controversy for both President Reagan and his successor, George Bush.

Promoting Free Trade. After a decade of debt, political upheaval, and in some cases civil war, many Latin American countries are experiencing a period of democratic reform and economic growth. Economists attribute much of this revival to the promotion of free trade in the region.

The North American Free Trade Agreement went into effect on January 1, 1994, lowering barriers to trade among Canada, Mexico, and the United States. The historic agreement gradually lowers and eventually eliminates tariffs on about 65 percent of U.S. industrial and agricultural exports to Mexico—which would be eligible for duty-free trade within five years. NAFTA also gradually lowers trade barriers for automobiles, agriculture, and foreign investment.

Critics of NAFTA worried that American workers in certain industries would lose their jobs under international competition. Others were concerned that Mexico's poor enforcement of environmental standards would only worsen the severe pollution problems in the U.S.-Mexico border region.

Since its passage, policymakers have been divided over the true impact of NAFTA on the U.S. economy. After an initial boom in U.S. exports to Mexico, the peso crisis weakened the country's buying power and resulted in a $15.4 billion U.S. trade deficit. Although some American corporations did move their operations south of the border to take advantage of lower wages, many economists believe that the overall effect on the American job market has been minimal.

Reuters/Enrique Marcarian/Archive Photos

In April 1998, President Clinton met with leaders from the Western Hemisphere in the second Summit of the Americas in Santiago, Chile. There they discussed forming the Free Trade Area of the Americas, originally scheduled to take effect in 2005.

In 1996, U.S. officials considered making Chile, whose economy is strong, a member of NAFTA. Moreover, recent summits between the United States and other countries in Central and South America have developed plans for a "Free Trade Area of the Americas" by 2005. However, in 1997, President Clinton was unsuccessful in urging Congress to pass a bill that would have put international trade accords on a "fast track" through Congress. That bill would have allowed Congress either to approve or reject a trade agreement, but not alter, or amend, it. Thus, the formation of new trade pacts with Latin American nations will probably proceed more slowly than was previously expected.

CURRENT ISSUES

U.S. Relations with Cuba. During the Cold War, Fidel Castro's ties to the Soviet Union and his human rights abuses caused U.S. leaders to consider him a serious threat to the peace and political stability of the Western Hemisphere. The United States imposed a trade embargo in an effort to choke off Cuba's economy and weaken Castro's regime. Then, with the collapse of communist governments in the Soviet

Union and eastern Europe, economic aid to Cuba from these former allies also dried up.

No other government in the world cooperates with the United States in the Cuban trade embargo. Opponents of the embargo point out that many other countries do business with Cuba and that the United States is missing out on these potential profits. They believe that the embargo and the 1996 Helms-Burton Act, which penalizes U.S. trading partners if they trade with Cuba, strain U.S. relations with other countries. Critics believe that the embargo has empowered Castro rather than weakened him, because he has been able to blame American policy, not his own failed economic policies, for Cuba's poverty. Opponents of the American embargo argue that opening trade and travel relations, not closing them, is the best way to promote free enterprise and political reform in Cuba.

Those who want to continue the embargo decry Castro's record of political repression and argue that the United States should not deal with a regime that has such a poor human rights record. They also point to Castro's earlier goals of spreading communist rev-

In January 1998, Pope John Paul II visited Cuba for the first time. He is shown here with Cuban president Fidel Castro.

AP Photo/Paul Hanna, Pool

olution throughout Central America and his military support of communist rebels in the African country of Angola in the 1980s. They say that the embargo is working and that Cuba's faltering economy is weakening Castro's leadership and improving the prospects for true economic and political reform in Cuba.

A Hemispheric Free-Trade Zone. In the late 1980s, Latin American economies were in dismal shape after more than three decades of authoritarian governments, overborrowing, and strict trade protectionism. Trade between Latin American nations and the rest of the world was limited because huge tariffs—sometimes as high as 1,000 percent—were slapped on imports. As a result, the region's economies were isolated and weak, leading to political instability in many of its nations.

In the early 1990s, as Latin America moved toward democracy, its markets slowly began to open up to freer trade and more economic integration. Nations began to lower tariffs and negotiate trade agreements. Since then, Latin America's economy has grown at about 3 percent annually.

Latin America's economic progress has encouraged U.S. and other officials to consider combining regional trade agreements to form a single free-trade system in the entire hemisphere. In 1998, leaders from virtually every Western Hemisphere country met in Santiago, Chile, for the second Summit of the Americas. On the agenda was a hemispheric free-trade zone. Supporters of such a plan believe it would create unprecedented economic and political cooperation between the United States and its Latin American neighbors. Many economists think Latin American nations are more willing than Asian or European nations to eliminate trade and investment barriers against the United States. This willingness offers an opportunity for American businesses to sell their products and services in these markets and create hundreds of thousands of U.S. jobs. Furthermore, cooperation on the economic front, many believe, will lead to greater teamwork on other problems, including drug trafficking, human rights violations, environmental degradation, and illegal immigration.

However, many Americans have the same fears about a hemispheric free-trade zone as they had about NAFTA. Most organized labor groups in the United States believe trade agreements with less developed nations will encourage U.S. companies to move their factories to Latin America to take advantage of lower wages. The end result, according to these critics, will be a net loss of American jobs. In addition, opponents of creating a hemispheric free-trade zone say that Latin American nations must first have stable market economies and corruption-free, democratic governments before the United States trades freely with them. They contend that Mexico's economic crisis revealed the potential dangers and costs of tying U.S. economic interests to those of Latin American nations.

The War on Drugs. For decades, U.S. officials have struggled to stop the flow of illegal drugs into the United States from Latin America. The sale and use of cocaine, crack cocaine, and, more recently, heroin has been blamed in part for the violent crime, poverty, and homelessness in many American cities. Areas in Latin America, however, have suffered even greater costs. Many citizens there have become virtual prisoners of this illegal and deadly industry. In Colombia, for example, drug cartels have been responsible for numerous assassinations and bombings, giving the country one of the world's highest murder rates. By 1997, this "narcoterrorism" was beginning to spread beyond Colombia, causing further concern for U.S. leaders.

To combat these growing problems, some believe that the U.S. government should provide Latin American countries with military assistance to help eliminate the drug trade. They support increasing the presence of U.S. military

PANAMA'S "PATH BETWEEN THE SEAS"

Ever since the United States completed construction of the Panama Canal in 1914, the U.S. government has overseen its operation. The U.S. military's Southern Command, the headquarters for Latin American operations, was based in Panama as well. According to a 1977 treaty, all U.S. troops are slated to leave Panama and full control of the canal will be turned over to Panama on December 31, 1999. Because the canal is vital to world trade, many shippers and policymakers fear for the canal's security after it reverts to Panamanian control.

AP Photo/Ricardo Mazalan

The illegal drug heroin is made from poppies (shown here). An increasing percentage of heroin seized in the United States now comes from Colombia. Many crime organizations there have begun to produce and export the drug because demand is high and because heroin is more profitable than cocaine.

personnel along the U.S.-Mexican border—a common point of entry for drug traffickers. Moreover, they favor funding antidrug military operations in countries where illegal drugs are grown, harvested, and distributed. For example, in 1997, President Clinton authorized sending about $37 million in military equipment to Colombia to combat the powerful hold the drug trade has on that country.

Supporters of using the military and giving military aid to fight the drug trade say it is the only way to put a stop to this increasingly lucrative, and violent, enterprise; the problem will only be solved by stemming the flow of drugs at the source. Because drug cartels have corrupted so many Latin American elected officials, the efforts of local governments have been ineffectual. Proponents contend that coordinating U.S. military efforts with other concerned nations could also improve the chances that drug trafficking can be stopped once and for all.

Opponents of aiding military efforts in Latin America say the plan amounts to unwanted intervention in the internal affairs of independent nations. If the assistance is unwelcome, it could strain important U.S.–Latin American trading relationships. Funding military efforts in Latin America would divert valuable dollars from more deserving and less risky antidrug programs. The better way to eliminate narcotics trafficking, say these critics, is to stem the demand for illegal drugs in the United States through better education, increased economic opportunity, and domestic law enforcement.

OUTLOOK

The United States' past involvement in Latin America focused on helping anticommunist movements through economic and military aid, including the use of U.S. troops. Today, the relationship is based more on economic, rather than strategic, interests. As officials monitor the effect of NAFTA, some Latin American and U.S. leaders hope to expand free trade to the entire Western Hemisphere. However, Latin America's democratic governments and their free-market reforms are still young and, in some cases, fragile. Whether these leaders can stem the illegal drug trade will likely be a major factor in determining policy toward the region. These and other problems are causing U.S. lawmakers to weigh seriously the effects of free trade and greater economic ties on both the United States and its Latin American trading partners.

THE DEBATE: LATIN AMERICA

The United States should lift the economic embargo against Cuba.

PRO: The embargo of Cuba was an effective policy to slow the spread of communism during the Cold War. But the Cold War is over. While the United States continues its embargo of this impoverished island, countries around the world are making money trading with Cuba. Trade with Cuba will promote economic and political reform faster and deny Castro an excuse for his failures.

CON: Fidel Castro has promoted revolutions in the Western Hemisphere and has violated the human rights of his people. He is a dangerous dictator, perched only ninety miles from the coast of the United States. Castro has become less of a threat only because the embargo is working. The United States should maintain the pressure until Castro resigns and true economic and political reform takes place.

The United States and Latin America should establish a free-trade zone.

PRO: The United States and its Latin American neighbors should work together to extend free trade across the region. South America is potentially a huge market for American products, which may create more jobs in the United States. In addition, free trade would dramatically improve Latin American economies and secure democracy and capitalism in the hemisphere.

CON: A U.S.-Latin America free-trade zone would mean little for the United States except a loss of national sovereignty and a mass exodus of American companies to Latin America. Furthermore, the United States should not extend free trade to nations with unstable economies or corrupt governments because their mismanagement could cost U.S. taxpayers money.

The United States should use military means to combat the Latin American drug trade.

PRO: The cycle of addiction and violence created by the Latin American drug trade must be stopped. Only military intervention will put an end to drug-related crime in the United States and narcoterrorism in Latin America. Latin American governments have been corrupted by the drug cartels and cannot be counted on to address these problems adequately. Coordinating U.S. military efforts with other governments will help stop Latin American drug trafficking.

CON: Aiding military efforts in Latin America to combat drug trafficking will not solve the U.S. drug problem. Moreover, intervening in the military affairs of Latin American countries could strain relationships with these important trading partners. Drug trafficking will only subside when the demand for illegal drugs has been eliminated. The money to fight drugs would therefore be better spent on educational and treatment programs in the United States.

THE MIDDLE EAST

For the last fifty years, the Middle East has been torn apart by war and conflict between Israel and its Arab neighbors. The birth of the Jewish state of Israel in 1948 touched off a long period of violence, as armies from five Arab countries immediately invaded the new nation. Since then, Israel and the surrounding Arab states have fought four wars over land sacred to their histories and religions, resulting in thousands of deaths and deep-seated suspicion and mistrust. As Israel and its Arab neighbors wrestled for territories from pre-1948 Palestine, the Palestinians themselves were left without a homeland. Palestinians have campaigned for the creation of a separate Palestinian state for many years.

KEY QUESTIONS

- Should the United States support the establishment of a Palestinian state?
- Should the United States pressure Israel to return the Golan Heights to Syria?
- Should the United States use military force to oust Saddam Hussein?

Several nations, including the United States, have urged the Arabs and Israelis to make peace among their passionately divided peoples. After years of difficult negotiations, Israel signed historic peace agreements with the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) in 1993 and with Jordan in 1994. Israeli and Arab leaders now face the overwhelming task of carrying out these peace plans while controlling extremist groups that violently oppose the initiatives.

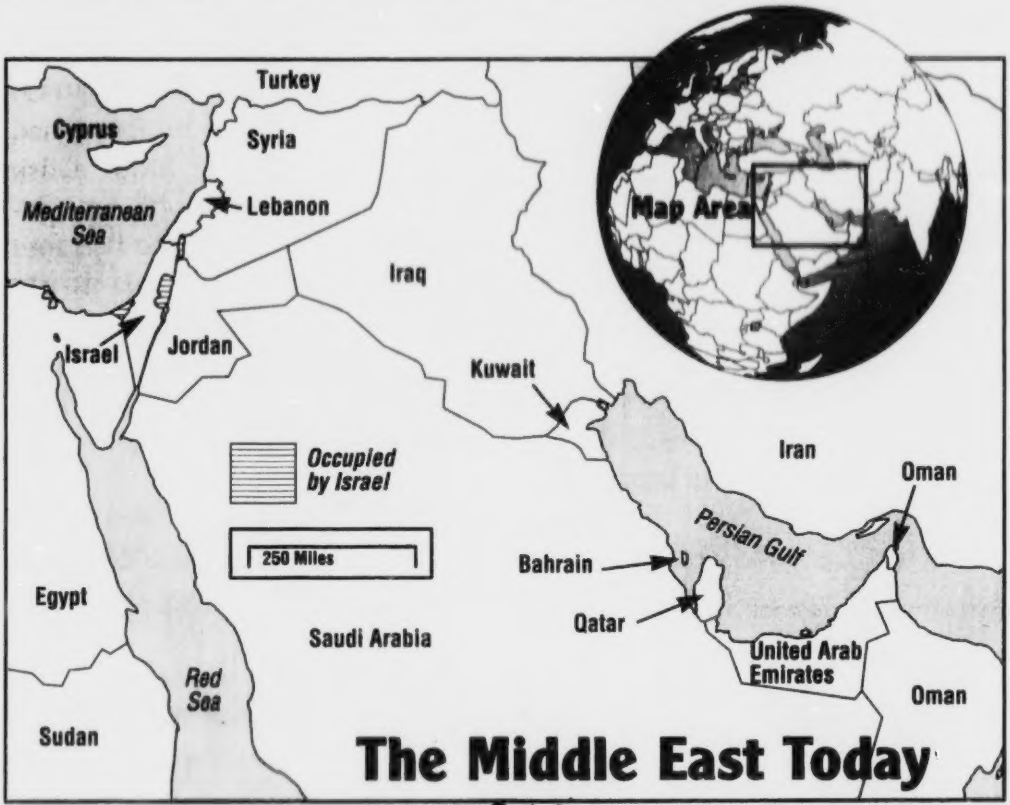
Meanwhile, U.S. officials work to develop a comprehensive policy for the region, one that encompasses not only Arab-Israeli peace, but also other complex issues. Saddam Hussein, the president of Iraq, continues to threaten neighboring countries and amass chemical and biological weapons in defiance of United Nations (UN) peace accords. The United States and the UN are working together to contain the Iraqi leader and the threat he poses to regional stability.

BACKGROUND

Key Players in the Middle East

Israel. Israel was formed from part of the Palestine Mandate—the territory of Palestine entrusted to Great Britain by the League of Nations following World War I. At that time, Palestine included areas now comprising most of present-day Jordan, Israel, the West Bank of the Jordan River, and the Gaza Strip.

Modern Israel grew out of Zionism, a political movement founded in 1897 to establish a Jewish homeland free from persecution. Twenty years later, in the Balfour Declaration, the British government agreed in principle to a Jewish homeland in Palestine. Tens of thousands of Jews from around the world then began immigrating to Palestine, joining other Jews who had lived there for centuries. However, the Holocaust—the extermination of millions of European Jews by the Nazis before and during World War II—was the major


Turkey
Cyprus
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Iran
Oman
250 Miles
Persian Gulf
Bahrain
Egypt
Qatar
Saudi Arabia
United Arab Emirates
Red Sea
Oman
Sudan

The Middle East Today

reason the United Nations decided to create a Jewish state. Israel, established in the section of Palestine west of the Jordan River, declared itself an independent nation on May 14, 1948.

The United States was one of the first nations to officially recognize the new Israel. U.S. support was an outgrowth of American cultural and religious ties to Jews, the feeling of a moral obligation to help them establish a homeland after the Holocaust, and the belief that the new Israeli government would be democratic. Today, the United States gives Israel, its most reliable ally in the Middle East, about $3 billion per year in foreign aid.

The Palestinians. The Palestinians are a people without a home. In 1921, the British gave two-thirds of Palestine to a non-Palestinian Arab king who then formed the kingdom of Jordan. When the western third of Palestine was partitioned after World War II, Egypt, Israel, and Jordan absorbed areas that had been intended to form a separate Palestinian state.

Conflicts in the Middle East have affected approximately 6 million Palestinians, who are now scattered throughout the region. Many live in Jordan, Syria, Lebanon, and the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Other Palestinians have moved to Europe and North America.

In 1964, Palestinian leaders formed the Palestine Liberation Organization to lead the struggle for the establishment of their own state. The PLO has used both violence and diplomacy in its efforts. In 1974, the United Nations granted the PLO observer status, which allows it to participate as a nonvoting member in the UN General Assembly.

In accordance with an Israeli-Palestinian peace agreement of 1993, Palestinians created their own governing body, the Palestinian Authority (PA), with a president, legislature, and police force. In 1996, Yassir Arafat, leader of the PLO, was elected president of the Palestinian Authority. The PA oversees areas of Israeli-occupied territories that have been returned to Palestinian control under the 1993 accord.

The White House

After the signing of the Camp David Accords in 1978, Egyptian president Anwar el-Sadat, U.S. president Jimmy Carter, and Israeli prime minister Menachem Begin (left to right) clasp hands. The agreement led to an Israeli-Egyptian peace treaty and raised hopes that the Arab-Israeli conflict could be resolved.

Egypt. The modern Republic of Egypt—the most populous nation in the Middle East—was established in 1952, when King Farouk was overthrown in a coup led by Colonel Gamal Abdel Nasser. President Nasser established close relations with the Soviet Union and, by exploiting strong anti-Israeli feelings, attempted (with little success) to unify other Arab nations into a United Arab Republic (UAR).

After Nasser died in 1970, Vice President Anwar el-Sadat became president and dramatically altered Egypt's policies. For example, he asked Soviet military advisers to leave in 1973, and in 1978 became the first Arab leader to negotiate peace with Israel. This overture caused most Arab countries to condemn Sadat; many broke relations with Egypt. In 1981, a group of Muslim fundamentalists assassinated the Egyptian president. Vice President Mohammad Hosni Mubarak replaced Sadat, and has led Egypt ever since.

Jordan. In 1921, Great Britain established the autonomous region of Transjordan from the eastern two-thirds of the Palestine Mandate. In 1946, Transjordan became an independent Arab kingdom. Transjordan annexed much of the area on the West Bank of the Jordan River and was renamed Jordan. Since 1952, Jordan has been ruled by King Hussein, who has generally steered a moderate course in the region.

Syria. Syria gained its independence from France in 1946. In 1958, Syria united with Egypt to form the United Arab Republic. Egypt quickly became dominant, however, and in 1961 the Syrians withdrew from the UAR. During the next decade, Syria's government was unstable, until General Hafez al-Assad came to power in 1970. Assad, who is still president, improved his nation's relationship with the United States by joining the coalition fighting against Iraq in the 1991 Persian Gulf War.

Lebanon. A French colony until 1945, Lebanon is about 60 percent Muslim and 40 percent Christian. This population mix has made Lebanon more pro-Western than many of its neighbors, but it also has made the small country a powder keg. In the early 1970s, Lebanon exploded into civil war involving Christians, Muslims, the PLO, and Syrian "peacekeeping forces." Lebanon's civil war left the economy and much of the country in ruins. Rival groups representing all sides agreed to a power-sharing arrangement in 1989. Under this accord, Lebanese leaders are trying to set up an effective government. However, Syria maintains 35,000 troops in Lebanon and has a strong influence over local politics. In 1996, Lebanon held its second parliamentary elections since the end of its civil war, but observers said that Syria might have manipulated the outcome to ensure the election of moderates who will answer to Syria.

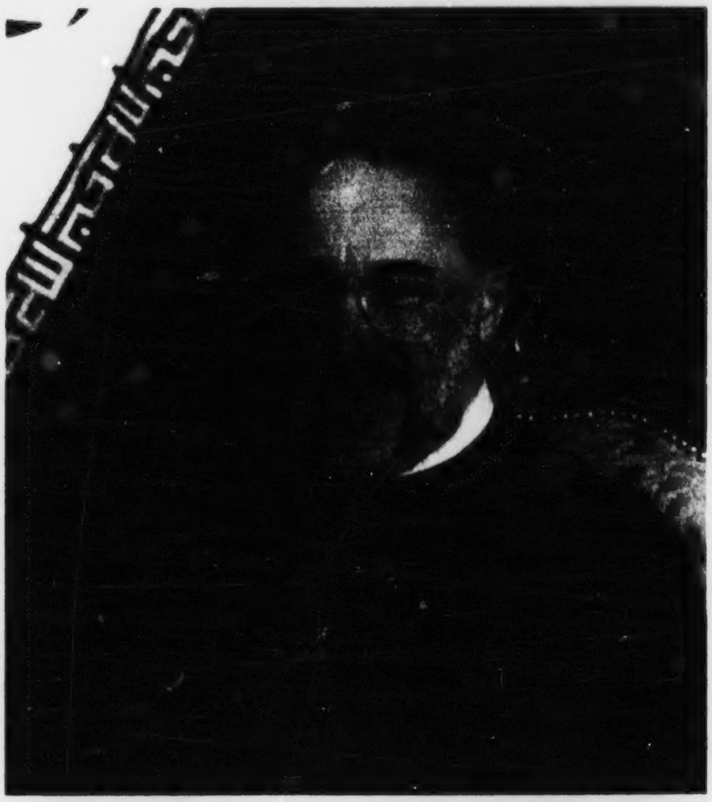
Meanwhile, Israel has occupied a nine-mile-wide strip in southern Lebanon since 1978, and occasional fighting in that area continues. Israelis refer to the area as a "security zone," which they claim they need to defend themselves against military attacks by radical Islamic groups. However, the Lebanese regard the presence of Israeli forces as an illegal occupation.

DEMOCRACY ADVANCES IN OMAN

Oman, a lesser-known country on Saudi Arabia's southern border, has been ruled by Sultan Qabus since 1970, but this small nation is not a typical monarchy. Oman appears to be slowly moving toward a democratic government. In 1996, the sultan wrote the Basic Law, a new constitution allowing freedom of the press, religious tolerance, and equality of race and gender. He has also recently assembled a parliament that includes the only two women in elected office in the Gulf region.

Iran. Iran is not an Arab country. Most Iranians are descendants of Persians, who ruled much of the Middle East for more than five centuries B.C. From the end of World War II until 1979, Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi ruled Iran, modernizing his country with profits from an expanding oil industry. In 1979, religious fundamentalist revolutionaries seized power, and an exiled Shi'ite Muslim leader, the Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, became Iran's leader.

Khomeini condemned the United States for supporting the shah, whom Khomeini said had corrupted Iran by "Westernizing" it and moving it away from strict Islamic observance. When Khomeini died in 1989, Ali Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani became Iran's president. Generally less antagonistic toward the United States, Rafsanjani made economic and diplomatic overtures to Western industrialized countries. In May 1997, Iranians elected Mohammed Khatemi as their new president. Khatemi has publicly expressed an interest in trying to



Reuters/Aladin Abdel Naby/Archive

In May 1997, Mohammed Khatemi was elected president of Iran. Khatemi, a member of the reform party, has expressed regret over the 1979 taking of American hostages.

build a better relationship with the United States. However, many observers still believe that Iran is intent on becoming the dominant military and religious power in the Middle East.

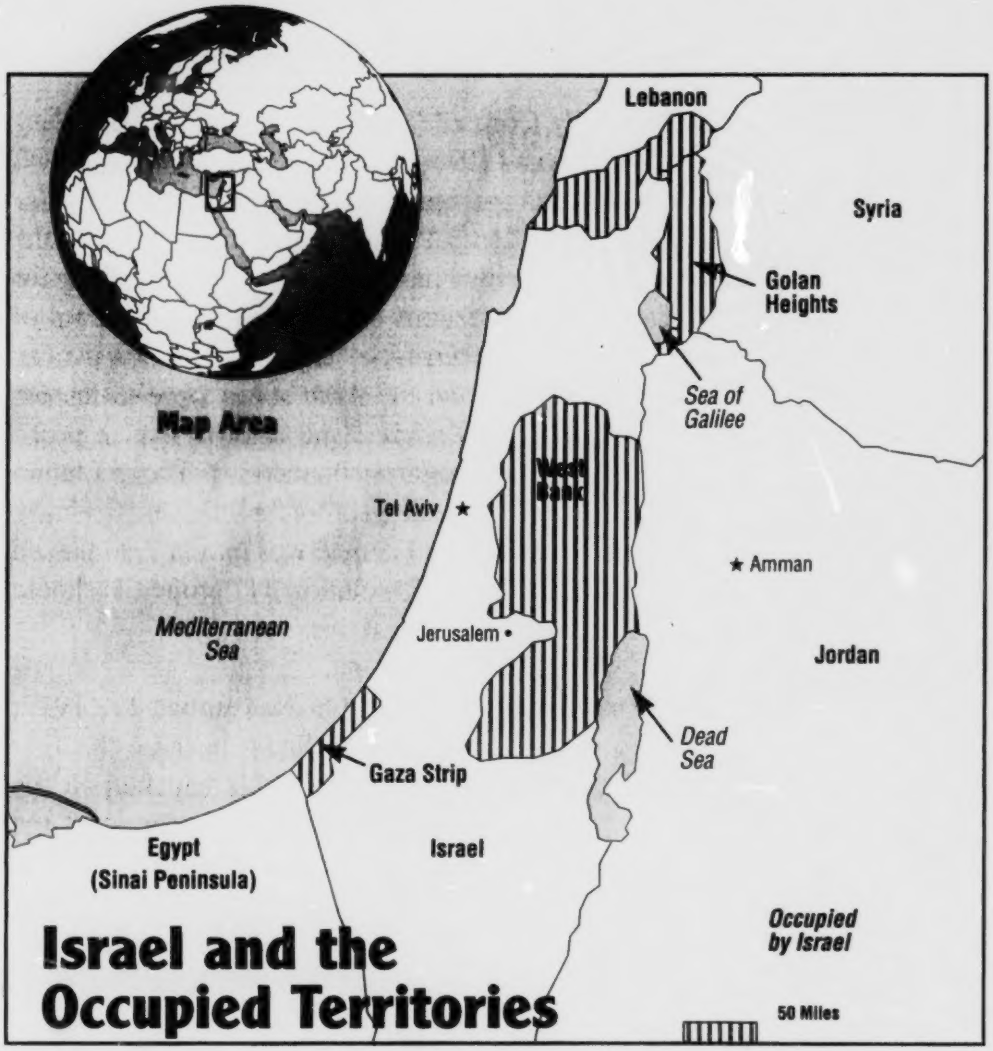
Iraq. Located in the "fertile crescent" between the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers where Western civilization was born, Iraq's capital of Baghdad was long the center of Arab culture. From the seventeenth century until the end of World War I, the Ottoman Turks controlled Iraq. After World War I, Great Britain occupied Iraq under a League of Nations mandate. The British installed a king in 1932 but maintained strong influence over the government. In 1958, the king was overthrown in a military coup. The current Iraqi president, Saddam Hussein, is not a military officer but is supported by his country's army.

In a 1980 territorial dispute, Iraq attacked its neighbor, Iran, beginning a war that lasted eight years. In 1990, Saddam Hussein's armies invaded a smaller neighbor, Kuwait, claiming that Kuwait was rightfully part of Iraq. A United States–led armed coalition expelled Iraq from Kuwait in early 1991, but Saddam Hussein has maintained leadership of Iraq.

Conflict in the Middle East

Establishment of Israel. The modern nation of Israel was born out of the 1947 United Nations partition plan, which proposed that two countries—one for Arabs and one for Jews—be formed from one territory, Palestine. Although it had been many centuries since Jews controlled Palestine, many Jews believed that the land was rightfully theirs, saying that God had given it to them thousands of years ago.

While most of the international community supported Israel's right to exist, few Arabs did. The land that the Arab people and their ancestors had occupied for centuries was suddenly given to another group of people. Many Arabs continue to view Israel as the intruder that took away the Palestinians' ancestral home.


Israel and the Occupied Territories

Map Area
Lebanon
Syria
Golan Heights
Sea of Galilee
West Bank
Tel Aviv
Amman
Mediterranean Sea
Jerusalem
Jordan
Dead Sea
Gaza Strip
Egypt (Sinai Peninsula)
Israel
Occupied by Israel
50 Miles

On May 15, 1948, the day Israeli statehood took effect, soldiers from Egypt, Transjordan, Syria, Lebanon, and Iraq crossed into the new nation, touching off the first Arab-Israeli war. The cease-fire lines of that war became Israel's tentative border. Since then, Israel and the surrounding area have been rocked by a series of wars.

The Six-Day War in 1967 is perhaps the most historic. Fearing that Egypt was preparing to attack, Israel launched a surprise attack on June 5, 1967, defeating Egypt, Syria, and Jordan. Over a period of six days, Israel captured the Gaza Strip, the Golan Heights, the

Sinai Peninsula, the West Bank of the Jordan River, and the eastern half of Jerusalem.

UN Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338. During the 1960s and 1970s, the United Nations adopted two resolutions that attempted to establish the principles for a negotiated settlement in the Middle East. In 1967, the UN Security Council passed Resolution 242, calling for an end to all declarations of war and the withdrawal of Israeli troops from territories captured from the Arabs. In addition, Israel and the Arab states were to respect one another's independence and right to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries. The resolution also called for a "just settlement" of the Palestinian refugee problem. UN Security Council Resolution 338, passed in 1973, states that the Resolution 242 proposals should be pursued through negotiations.

Egyptian-Israeli Peace. On November 19, 1977, Egyptian president Anwar el-Sadat became the first Arab leader to visit Israel. Sadat's trip helped the Israeli and Egyptian peoples overcome some of the psychological barriers of fear, hatred, and suspicion between them.

In 1978, Sadat met with Israeli prime minister Menachem Begin and U.S. president Jimmy Carter at the Camp David presidential retreat in Maryland. These talks led to the signing of an Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty in 1979, ending the thirty-one-year conflict between the two countries.

Israeli-Palestinian Conflict. Since Israel was established in 1948, most Palestinians have fled from Israeli-held areas to neighboring Arab territory. Some Palestinians have vowed to destroy Israel and establish a country of their own in its place. Others, however, are tired of the ravages of war and would like to peaceably settle the issue of a Palestinian homeland.

In December 1987, the first of a series of uprisings—known as the *intifada*—erupted to protest the presence of Israeli soldiers in the occupied territories of the West

Bank and Gaza Strip. Palestinians wanted the Israelis to leave and allow the Palestinians to establish a homeland. More than 800 people were killed in these battles, which ended in 1993.

In 1991 and 1992, U.S.-led efforts in Israeli-Palestinian peace talks on the West Bank and Gaza Strip reached a stalemate. The Palestinians refused to accept Israel's offer of limited self-rule, and Israel insisted on settling the West Bank and Gaza Strip with newly arriving Jewish immigrants from Russia.

Israeli-Palestinian Peace Talks. Peace talks were revitalized after Yitzhak Rabin, a moderate, was elected Israeli prime minister in June 1992. With a new prime minister, Israel was able to reach a historic peace accord with the PLO in September 1993. The accord's two most important provisions included agreements to establish a five-year interim period of limited autonomy for Palestinians in the occupied territories and to withdraw Israeli

Reuters/Jim Hollander/Archive Photos

In January 1998, the United States hosted separate talks with Israeli prime minister Benjamin Netanyahu and Palestinian president Yassir Arafat. Secretary of State Madeleine Albright is shown here with Arafat.

forces from Palestinian areas of the West Bank. Those areas are to be policed by Palestinians and overseen by the newly created Palestinian Authority.

By early 1996, Israeli soldiers had left the Gaza Strip, as well as six cities and more than 400 towns in the West Bank. In January of that year, Palestinians held their first elections for a president and a national assembly in areas overseen by the Palestinian Authority. Yassir Arafat, leader of the PLO, was elected president.

While leaders began to implement the Israeli-PLO peace accord in 1994 and 1995, terrorist activity increased. Observers said that extremists on both sides aimed to destroy the peace plan. In November 1995, Rabin was assassinated by an Israeli who opposed the peace process.

A New Leader in Israel. In May 1996, Israelis elected a member of the conservative Likud Party, Benjamin Netanyahu, as their new prime minister. Following his campaign rhetoric denouncing land-for-peace agreements with Arabs, Netanyahu slowed the process for returning some areas of the West Bank to Palestinian control. Meanwhile, he encouraged Israeli settlements in occupied territories, a policy that Arabs said violated previous agreements.

In September 1996, violence erupted after Israel opened a tourist tunnel in Jerusalem near a site that is holy to both Jews and Muslims. This action sparked calls for a new *intifada* among Palestinians, who were increasingly frustrated at their worsening economy and the slow pace of Israeli withdrawals from the West Bank. Seventy people died in three days of fighting. These events prompted negotiators from several countries, including the United States and Jordan, to revive the deadlocked peace talks.

In January 1997, after a delay of almost a year, Israeli and Palestinian officials finally agreed to terms of the withdrawal of Israeli troops from the city of Hebron on the West Bank. In a compromise, the parties allowed 80 percent of the city to be administered by the Palestinian Authority, while the remaining 20 percent—enclaves settled by 500 Jews—remains under

Israeli control. Netanyahu also agreed to withdraw from more areas of the West Bank by mid-1998.

Nevertheless, renewed violence in March 1997 threatened to curtail the peace process entirely. Netanyahu allowed construction of new Israeli settlements to begin in the East Jerusalem area of Har Homa, even though East Jerusalem remained the most hotly contested part of the peace process. In response, Palestinian extremists renewed terrorist attacks in Israel, and violence increased between Palestinians and Israeli soldiers on the West Bank.

In January 1998, President Bill Clinton hosted extended talks with both Netanyahu and Arafat. Despite the president's attempts to help guide the peace process, progress remained at a standstill. Netanyahu refused to further withdraw Israeli troops from the West Bank until Arafat put an end to Palestinian terrorist attacks. Arafat insisted that his government did not encourage such attacks, and that he was

Reuters/Havakuk Levison/Archive Photos

In March 1997, bulldozers cleared land in the East Jerusalem area of Har Homa to begin building new housing for Jews. Shown here are Israeli soldiers protecting the construction site and crew. Arab leaders claimed that new settlements violate earlier peace agreements. Consequently, terrorism and violence reignited, and the peace process was seriously endangered.

powerless to move forward with peace negotiations until Israel fulfilled its promise to leave the West Bank.

CURRENT ISSUES

Establishment of a Palestinian Homeland. After his first year in office, Prime Minister Netanyahu moderated his stance against land-for-peace plans, agreeing to an Israeli pullout from Hebron. Ultraconservative Jews denounced the agreement, arguing that the prime minister had contradicted his promise to keep biblical Israel under Israeli control. At the same time, many Arabs were outraged at Arafat's concession allowing 20 percent of Hebron to remain under Israeli control. These viewpoints underscore the divisive debates within both Israeli and Palestinian groups that jeopardize the future of the peace negotiations. At the heart of these talks are Palestinian aspirations toward statehood.

Palestinian officials expect that they will eventually be given full autonomy over the Gaza Strip and West Bank. Yassir Arafat, the leader of the Palestinian Authority, believes that the 1993 agreement with Israel sows the seeds of full Palestinian statehood. However, Israeli leaders have historically opposed that idea. Some Israeli leaders have suggested that Palestinians form a confederation with Jordan or even Israel.

Nevertheless, many Palestinians reject the idea of relying on another nation for their economic and military survival. Some Palestinians would be dissatisfied with anything less than total independence and might continue to fight Israel. However, a Palestinian state in Gaza and on the West Bank might not survive on its own because the area is small, lacks a strong agricultural or industrial base, and has few natural resources.

Israeli and Palestinian officials hope to resolve the statehood conflict during special negotiations that are scheduled to finish within five years of the 1993 peace accord. However, such questions raise the sensitive issue of who will control the holy city of Jerusalem, the most difficult—and possibly the most inflammatory—aspect of the peace process. Israelis want the city to stay united and become their capital. However, Palestinians view East Jerusalem, a mostly Arab section of the city that Israel captured during the 1967 war, as their future capital.

Israel and the Golan Heights. Another obstacle to long-lasting Middle East peace is Israel's occupation of territories captured from Syria and other Arab nations during the Six-Day War in 1967. Syria has always argued that Israel's occupation of the Golan Heights violates international law forbidding nations from gaining territory by military force. The Syrians maintain that they have rightful sovereignty over the Golan Heights, and they demand a complete Israeli withdrawal.

Israeli leaders argue that the Golan Heights is especially crucial to their country's defense. Since 1978, the Israeli military has maintained a security zone in southern Lebanon to protect Israel from an Iranian-backed Lebanese extremist group known as the Hezbollah, or Party of God. Israel contends that it cannot afford to lose control over the mountains overlooking the security zone. The Israeli government maintains that it will hold the occupied territories until the signing of a comprehensive peace settlement that guarantees the long-term safety of Israel in the region.

SESAME STREET, TEL AVIV

Inspired by the historic peace agreement between Yassir Arafat and Yitzhak Rabin in 1993, the Children's Television Workshop has created an Israeli-Palestinian version of *Sesame Street.* The program, co-produced and broadcast by both countries, aims to teach preschoolers mutual respect through language and culture. Israeli muppets speak Hebrew while Palestinian characters speak Arabic. The humans on the show are bilingual; they interpret and sometimes mediate for the puppets. The show combines simple lessons in both languages, as well as skits demonstrating similarities and differences in the two cultures. The show's producers hope to ease childrens' fears and teach them to live together peacefully.

The United States has taken an active role in promoting an accord between Israel and Syria. President Clinton held negotiating sessions with Syrian president Assad and Israeli prime minister Rabin in 1993 and 1995, but without success. In 1997, Prime Minister Netanyahu refused to revive negotiations with Syria, claiming he would not consider a withdrawal from the Golan Heights.

Critics believe that the United States is overly optimistic about Syria's commitment to peace. Some experts contend that Syria's political interests in Lebanon hinder their negotiations with Israel. They say Assad is linked with terrorists and supports the Hezbollah attacks on Israeli troops in southern Lebanon. These critics argue that the Clinton administration is pressuring Israel into signing an agreement with Syria, a nation many believe cannot be trusted.

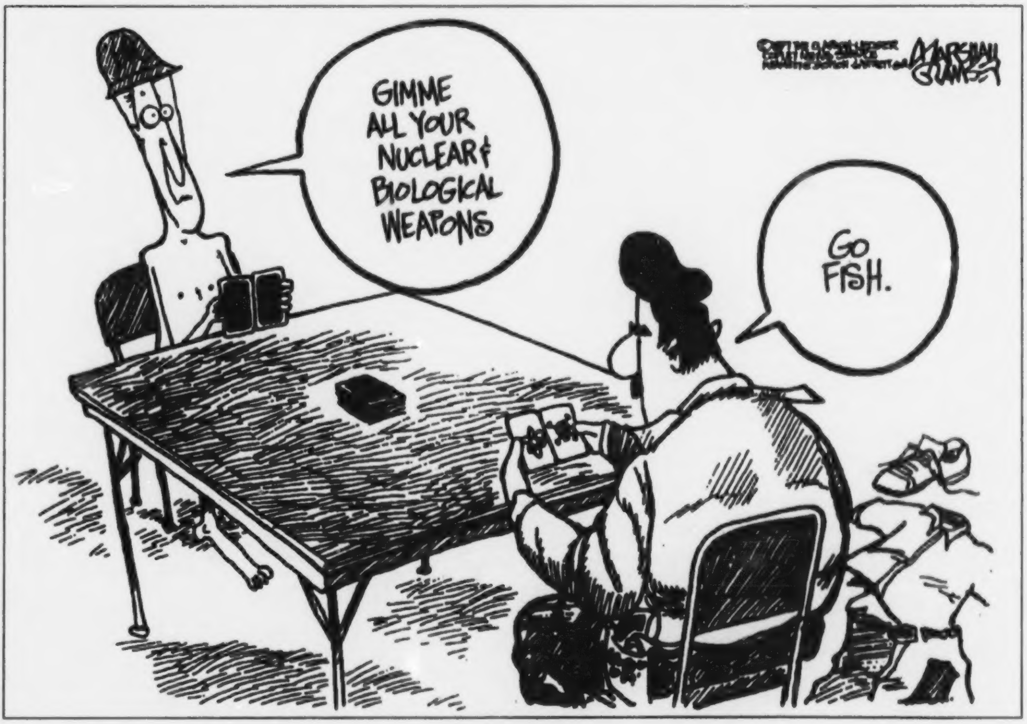
Many U.S. officials concede that Assad may have sponsored terrorist activities. Nevertheless, they argue that Israeli leaders must negotiate separate peace agreements with all of Israel's Arab neighbors, including Syria, if they hope to achieve lasting peace in the region. Moreover, supporters of an Israeli-Syrian peace accord maintain that negotiating with secular Arab leaders is better than dealing with religious militants who might pose greater threats to world peace.

Confronting Saddam Hussein. Since the end of the Persian Gulf War in 1991, the United States has kept a watchful eye on Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein. According to the UN resolutions that ended the war, Iraq was required to hand over all its weapons of mass destruction and dismantle all weapons-producing sites. However, most experts think that Hussein has continued to manufacture and hide chemical and biological weapons. He has continued to intimidate neighboring countries, especially Kuwait. Meanwhile, because of Saddam Hussein's failure to comply with UN resolutions, Iraq has remained under stiff international economic sanctions.

In late 1997, Hussein refused to allow UN weapons inspectors to continue their work. The ensuing four-month-long standoff nearly resulted in a U.S.-led military airstrike against Iraq. Instead, Secretary General Kofi Annan of the United Nations met with Hussein and negotiated a new inspection protocol for "sensitive sites," such as presidential palaces.

Some people believe that it is useless for the United States to negotiate with such an untrustworthy leader. Instead, many experts argue that it is time to launch a military attack against Iraq with the explicit goal of removing Saddam Hussein from power. His determination to amass dangerous weapons makes the Iraqi leader a threat to peace in the Middle East. Proponents say a sustained military attack would weaken Hussein's personal security forces and demoralize his supporters, thereby encouraging and enabling his enemies to overthow him. They say that even targeting Hussein directly is preferable to allowing him to ignore international law and threaten the entire region.

Opponents believe that even if Saddam Hussein were overthrown, he would likely be replaced by another antagonistic leader. Critics also say that launching a military attack would put too many American soldiers at risk. It


GIMME ALL YOUR NUCLEAR & BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS
GO FISH.
MARSHALL RAMSEY

Marshall Ramsey/Copley News Service

might even prompt Iraq to use some of its chemical and biological weapons, thereby endangering the citizens of neighboring countries in the Gulf. Some experts believe that leaving the sanctions in place will eventually force the Iraqi people to overthrow Saddam Hussein if he fails to comply with the UN resolutions. Furthermore, many experts point out that targeting Hussein is tantamount to assassination, which is illegal under international law.

OUTLOOK

The task of bringing peace to the Middle East is complicated by many factors—hundreds of years of religious and ethnic conflicts, as well as modern-day military ambitions. Implementation of new peace agreements between Israel and the Palestinians will continue to pose challenges for Middle Eastern people as the most contentious issues—Israel's borders and East Jerusalem—are addressed. Moreover, while the future of U.S. policy regarding Iraq is unclear, American policymakers will almost certainly have to deal with this country in one way or another, particularly if Saddam Hussein continues to collect weapons of mass destruction. Most observers agree that the United States needs to develop a comprehensive Middle East policy so that it can deal with not only Arab-Israeli peace but also many other complex issues in the region.

THE DEBATE: THE MIDDLE EAST

The United States should support the establishment of a Palestinian state.

PRO: The Arab-Israeli conflict will never be resolved until a Palestinian state is established. Such a state would meet the Palestinians' demands to govern themselves. The United States should support the spirit of the original United Nations partition plan, which calls for the establishment of two nations, one Arab and one Jewish.

CON: Creating a Palestinian state will not solve the problems in the Middle East. Some Palestinians are firmly committed to taking back the territory that is now Israel. They are likely to use a Palestinian state as a staging ground for terrorist attacks, and they might eventually use such a state to destroy and retake Israel.

The United States should pressure Israel to return the Golan Heights to Syria.

PRO: International law forbids one nation from taking the land of another through war. In a 1967 war, Israel seized the Golan Heights, which rightly belongs to Syria. Even the United Nations has demanded that Israel withdraw. Yet Israel has openly supported settlements by Israeli citizens in this contested region. Israel should begin a partial withdrawal as a gesture of peace.

CON: The occupied territories are Israel's only bargaining chips, and Israel has the right to exchange land for peace. While Syria might be willing to negotiate, U.S. leaders should not pressure Israel into surrendering the Golan Heights to a country that has threatened to destroy it. Israel should keep the territory until Syria denounces terrorism and formally recognizes Israel.

The United States should use military force to oust Saddam Hussein.

PRO: Iraq will remain a menace in the Middle East as long as Saddam Hussein is its leader. He has amassed weapons that threaten peace not only in the Middle East, but also the world. He has also allowed his people to go without food or medicine. A military attack will demoralize Saddam Hussein's supporters and encourage his enemies to overthow him. Even targeting Hussein directly is preferable to allowing him to continue collecting weapons that threaten the safety of the entire region.

CON: Launching a military attack to remove Hussein from power will endanger the lives of American soldiers as well as the citizens of other Middle East countries. Even if Saddam Hussein were overthrown, he would probably be replaced by another aggressive leader. The UN sanctions must remain in place and, eventually, the Iraqi people will overthrow him or elect a new leader. Furthermore, targeting Hussein means that the United States condones assassinating world leaders.

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Close Up's Civic Education Programs

The Close Up Foundation's programs represent a diverse approach to citizenship education, teaching Americans about democracy and giving them the skills to play an active role in their government and communities. From Washington, D.C., to social studies classrooms worldwide, Close Up is committed to increasing civic awareness—one student, one citizen, at a time. Close Up's educational offerings include:

In Washington, D.C., . . .

Close Up Washington—Close Up's flagship government studies program in the nation's capital prepares high school students to meet the challenge of governing themselves and their nation.

Close Up Program for Adults—Formerly the Program for Older Americans, this program provides adults from around the nation with the opportunity to contribute insight and experience to the political process.

Close Up Program for New Americans—This civic education and community service-learning program features a weeklong Washington study visit for recently immigrated and migrant students and their teachers.

Close Up Capital Experience—Close Up's program for middle school students and teachers features in-depth study visits to historic sites and workshops focusing on conflicts in U.S. history.

In the Community . . .

Close Up Connections: State and Local Programs—These community-based civic education and current issues programs are conducted by volunteer educators and civic leaders in local government centers and state capitals; tens of thousands of students, teachers, and other members of the community take part each year.

On the Air and in Print . . .

Close Up on C-SPAN—These nationally televised programs, including *Close Up at the Newseum* and *Close Up in the Classroom,* bring elected officials, journalists, and a variety of public policy experts together with students, teachers, and other Close Up participants to discuss news topics and current events.

Close Up Publishing—Close Up offers a number of award-winning books, teacher's guides, videotapes, and other educational resources for educators and students, focusing on the governmental process, constitutional issues, international relations, and active citizenship.

For more information on these or other Close Up Foundation citizenship education initiatives, call 800-CLOSE UP (256-7387); e-mail us at outreach@closeup.org; visit www.closeup.org on the World Wide Web; or write to the Close Up Foundation, 44 Canal Center Plaza, Alexandria, VA 22314-1592.

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Now that *Current Issues* has updated you on the most critical topics on the American agenda, why not try our other educational materials on constitutional rights, government, U.S. history, global affairs, and economics? See why tens of thousands of educators each year rely on Close Up Publishing's respected collection of videos, books, teacher's resources, and simulation activities for relevant, engaging, and unbiased treatment of domestic and global policy issues.

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VIDEO

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1999 EDITION

Current Issues

Teacher's Guide

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1999 EDITION

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Teacher's Guide

Developed by Charles R. Sass

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Close Up Foundation

The Close Up Foundation is a nonprofit, nonpartisan organization that teaches responsible participation in the democratic process through civic education programs and publications in government and citizenship. Since its founding in 1970, Close Up has developed new and better ways for young people, educators, and a widening circle of citizens of all ages to gain a practical understanding of how government influences their lives and how individual and collective efforts influence government.

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From the nation's capital to social studies classrooms nationwide, Close Up is committed to increasing civic awareness—one student, one citizen, at a time. Close Up's educational offerings include:

In Washington, D.C., . . .

Close Up Washington—a government studies program for nearly 25,000 high school students and teachers each year; the Foundation's flagship program and a capital tradition

Close Up Washington Program for Adults—a civic learning program for adults, offered in cooperation with the American Association of Retired Persons (AARP)

Close Up Program for New Americans—a civic education and service-learning program with a weeklong Washington study visit for recently immigrated and migrant students and their teachers

Close Up Capital Experience—a program for middle school students and teachers, featuring in-depth study visits to historic sites and workshops focusing on conflicts in U.S. history

In the Community . . .

Close Up Connections: State and Local Programs—community-based civic education and current issues programs, conducted by volunteer educators and civic leaders in local government centers and state capitals; tens of thousands of students, teachers, and other members of the community take part each year

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INTRODUCTION

Social studies teachers have long recognized the benefits of incorporating current issues instruction into their classes. Many adults can remember the Thursday evenings they spent when they were students scanning the newspaper for a worthy article to take to Friday's current events discussion. Their teachers knew that discussions about current events were often highly motivational, encouraged students' involvement, and provided them with practical information about the world in which they lived. While these weekly exercises were usually informative and enjoyable, such a random approach can no longer adequately prepare students for the twenty-first century. As citizens in a democratic society that is part of an interdependent world network of nations, students need more than simple information about the faraway places and national topics that happen to make today's front page.

To effectively exercise their responsibilities as citizens—the most important political office in U.S. society—students need models for analyzing current issues. For example, they need to understand the dimensions of national security—how it can be measured, how it can be strengthened, and what its costs and benefits are. Without such a framework, students will be unable to decide what they think their government should do in certain critical situations. The study of current events should, therefore, teach students how to analyze important issues. Issues of social justice, national security, and economic interdependence will change yearly, but once students have acquired a model for analyzing such issues, they can apply that model forever.

Not only can current events instruction provide students with valuable analytical models, but it can also serve to develop critical-thinking skills. By defining problems, collecting and analyzing data, developing alternative solutions, selecting appropriate responses, working with their peers, defending a position, and persuading others, students can learn the skills and attitudes that will make them informed and effective citizens.

The United States and the world face issues that threaten their survival, and educators have a responsibility to prepare the next generation of citizens to think critically and to solve problems. The knowledge, skills, and attitudes developed by *Current Issues* can help you in this noble task.

WHAT IS *CURRENT ISSUES?*

Current Issues, a textbook published annually by the Close Up Foundation, examines twenty timely domestic and foreign policy issues. The *Current Issues* format provides students with an ideal framework for studying the complexities of the issues.

The introductory section of *Current Issues* titled "The Federal Government" gives students important facts about the present administration, Congress, and the Supreme Court. Following "The Federal Government" are the twenty issue chapters—ten under "Domestic Policy Issues" and ten under "Foreign Policy Issues." Each chapter introduces a subject and provides background, current issues, a pro/con debate of key policy questions, and an outlook for the future.

The basic edition of *Current Issues,* formerly known as the lower-reading-level edition, covers the same subjects in a less comprehensive way and provides the same features as the regular edition. This edition is appropriate for students who speak English as a second language, middle school students, academically at-risk students who may read below grade level, and others who could benefit from the simpler vocabulary and sentence structure. Definitions of difficult words and concepts are included in this edition, along with illustrations and charts for readers who may learn more effectively through graphics. Both books can be used in the same classroom with students of disparate reading skills.

WHAT IS THE *CURRENT ISSUES TEACHER'S GUIDE?*

The *Current Issues Teacher's Guide* provides a variety of instructional activities to help you and your students make the best use of both the standard and the basic editions of *Current Issues.* The *Teacher's Guide* includes lesson plans for the introductory section and for the individual chapters in the book. Each set of lessons is designed to help students investigate and analyze intelligently the most pressing issues currently facing the United States and the world. Although the lessons are comprehensive, they also offer illustrative suggestions of how you might teach each unit. The lesson plans may be used exactly as written, or you can modify and adapt them as your professional judgment suggests is appropriate. Each chapter includes an activity and accompanying handout written specifically for the basic edition of *Current Issues*. Such activities and handouts are marked with a star. Of course, feel free to adapt any of the other activities or handouts to fit the audience using the basic edition.

★

The lesson plans in this guide use instructional strategies that help students develop a variety of citizenship skills. Each lesson includes student objectives, a list of terms and concepts, and several learning activities. The first activity—a motivational exercise introducing students to the issue and helping them recognize the personal significance of it—is followed by a series of in-depth learning activities that increase student understanding of the issue. Each lesson also includes enrichment activities that can be used to offer extra credit assignments for students who want to spend more time investigating a topic or to expand the study of selected issues.

The guide also contains unit test materials that you can easily reproduce. The test materials for each unit include ten objective true-false items, focusing on lower-level recall of basic information, and eight to ten subjective items that require students to use higher-level cognitive skills. An answer key for unit tests is included. The last section in the guide contains student handouts to be used along with many of the lessons.

FEATURES OF THE LESSON PLANS

Each lesson plan has several features to help you present the topic.

Terms and Concepts

Students need to understand the specialized terms that are associated with each topic in *Current Issues*. The most effective way to teach such terms is in the context of the chapter. Relate new terms to those that students already know. Help them break down a word into its component parts so that it is easier to understand.

You can ask students to define the terms and concepts at the start of the lesson, as is traditional, or you may consider these alternatives.

- Have students individually list unfamiliar terms as they read the chapter, and then decide which key words are essential for an understanding of the issue.
- Have students create a glossary of specialized terms on three- by five-inch index cards or in a notebook while they are reading each chapter.
- Give extra credit for every example of a listed term or concept that students find in books, newspapers, and magazines, or every time they use a term correctly in class discussion.
- Ask students to develop crossword puzzles using all or most of the terms and concepts.

Decisionmaking/Problem-Solving Activities

Any thoughtful analysis of current domestic or international issues inherently involves making decisions and solving problems. A variety of models are available for leading students through this process. The steps in the model presented here can be written on poster paper and displayed at the front of the room. Then, throughout the course, whenever students are discussing a decision or addressing a problem, refer them to the model. Show students how they can apply the steps in most situations to find the best solution.

Using Current Resources

While *Current Issues* provides an overview of national and international issues, the nature of such issues means that specific events and information about those events change daily. Therefore, many activities in the guide call upon your students to use outside sources of information. Newspapers, magazines, radio, and television should all be among the resources used by students studying *Current Issues.*

Examining the Proper Role of Government

As long as governments have existed, philosophers, political scientists, and citizens have debated what the proper role of government should be. Most political decisions reflect the beliefs of decisionmakers about the proper role of government; political controversy is often rooted in different answers to this question.

Decisionmaking/Problem-Solving Model

1. Identify situations where a decision is required or a problem must be defined.
2. Identify likely sources of information about the issue(s).
3. Collect relevant information.
4. Classify, interpret, analyze, summarize, synthesize, and evaluate the information.
5. Recognize values related to the decision.
6. Prioritize values.
7. Identify alternative courses of action.
8. Predict the likely consequences of each alternative.
9. Make a decision based on the data you have and your most desired outcome.
10. Act to implement your decision.
11. Assess the results of implementing your decision.
12. Recognize the need to change your decision when warranted by new information.
13. Recognize gaps in information and areas needing further study.

This question is inherent in each issue in *Current Issues.* The *Teacher's Guide* lesson plans examine the role of government in the issues.

Encourage students to consider this basic political question at the beginning of the course and to decide what they think the proper role of government should be. Then, have them reevaluate their positions after studying each issue. Is their decision about a proper course of governmental action on one issue consistent with their belief about the role of government in general? If not, why not? Should their general philosophy be modified? By the end of the course, students should have a well-articulated position about the proper role of government, be able to support that position, and apply it consistently to a wide variety of domestic and international issues.

HOW TO TEACH CONTROVERSIAL ISSUES

Controversy is an inherent part of any discussion of current issues. Although some teachers and students are afraid of controversy and see it as something to be avoided, controversy is natural and can lead to a productive classroom experience if handled properly.

Controversy motivates students and generates interest. When teaching controversial subjects, you should be responsive to some of the characteristics unique to working with such material. Use the following guidelines to help you.

1. When dealing with controversial subjects, keep an open mind so that you can encourage your class to examine an array of ideas and develop the best one. You may wish to establish the following ground rules.
   - Everyone who has something to say will have an opportunity to say it.
   - Focus discussions on ideas, not on personalities or people.
   - Anyone can change a position at any time. Remember, just because you choose one position at the start does not mean you have to stay with it.
   - The purpose of discussion is understanding, not winning.
   - Define all terms.
   - Avoid unsupported, emotional statements.
   - Cite sources of information.
   - Do not interrupt others.
   - Listen to and respect the opinions of others.
2. When controversy appears, identify areas of agreement and disagreement and clearly describe the source of controversy. Recognize that consensus is probably not possible or desirable.
3. Respect the right of students not to express their opinion on some issues. Sometimes an issue can be so personal that students do not want to share their thoughts or feelings.
4. Students should recognize that disagreements are simply that. They do not mean that friendships must end or that someone is "stupid" or "wrong." One device for maintaining class harmony might be to follow substantive discussions with an analysis of how well people listen, what made the discussion good or poor, and what the class might do to improve discussions.
5. Be certain that all sides of an issue have been fairly and equally presented. Biased sources present an opportunity to develop students' skills in detecting bias. If representatives of one side of an issue are invited to class, the other side should be represented, too. Play devil's advocate to have students carefully examine all sides of an issue. Urge students to closely evaluate all positions before choosing one.
6. If you express your opinion on an issue, do so at the end of the unit and clearly indicate that it is your opinion only. Be certain to explain why you hold a particular view and tell students that you do not want them to change their views because of your personal beliefs.
7. Be aware of local standards. Issues that may be discussed freely in one community or school may not be suitable for discussion in another. If there are groups in your community that might take exception to discussion of certain issues, you and your school's administration should decide how to approach those issues.

How To Use *Current Issues*

Each of the parts of a *Current Issues* chapter offers unique opportunities for teaching. Consider using the following techniques to help you explore more fully the educational possibilities of each part.

Introduction

1. Ask students to identify policy questions raised in the introduction.
2. Share your own information and knowledge about the issue.
3. Urge students to talk to their parents about the issue.
4. Encourage students to read and to watch newspaper and television coverage of the issue.
5. Ask students:
   - What makes this topic a current issue?
   - What tone does the introduction set for the chapter?
   - How does this issue relate to others you have studied?
   - Why should a young person like you be interested in this issue?

Key Questions

1. Have students speculate on what they think are the key questions related to the issue before they read the "Key Questions" section.
2. Let students vote—either with a show of hands or on paper—their opinions on each key question. Share totals with the class. Repeat the vote again after students have read the chapter to see if opinions have changed.
3. Encourage students to focus their reading by keeping the key questions in mind throughout.
4. Use the key questions as items for surveys or questionnaires that students conduct with their peers or family members.

Note: The basic edition of *Current Issues* does not include "Key Questions" following the introduction, but you can convert the debate statements at the end of each chapter into key questions and use them in the same way as suggested above. Note also that, due to space constraints and to permit more in-depth analysis, the basic *Current Issues* features only two of the three debate statements included in the standard edition. However, you will find information on the "missing" third debate statement in the "Background" section or in a sidebar.

Background

1. Discuss the effect of the past on the present and the importance of historical precedent.
2. Alert students to pay attention to unfamiliar terms and concepts as they are presented.

3. Ask students to predict what current issues will be presented, based on the background reading.
4. Relate major historical events in the background section to issues studied in other chapters and to material covered in other social studies courses.

Current Issues

1. Ask students to explain the most important aspect of this issue. Why is the issue included in *Current Issues* this year? Suggest that students read other sources to see if anything new has happened since the book was published.
2. Relate the issue to newspaper, magazine, and television coverage that students may be following.
3. Encourage students to share their views on the issues with friends, family, or government representatives.
4. Demonstrate the complexity of issues in class discussion by pointing out how issues overlap (e.g., crime and constitutional rights, immigration and education) and how U.S. issues affect others around the world (e.g., the U.S. economy and Europe, crime and drugs and Latin America).
5. Ask students to select one aspect of the issue that is of special interest to them and explain that aspect to the rest of the class.

Outlook

1. Ask students to characterize the "Outlook" section as positive, negative, or ambivalent. How do they personally feel about the outlook for the issue?
2. Relate the forecast in the "Outlook" section to the "Background" and "Current Issues" sections. Have students consider whether or not the chapter's look into the future was predictable.
3. Allow students to brainstorm ways they could effect change so that the projection in the "Outlook" section would be more to their liking.
4. Have students rewrite the "Outlook" section to make it agree with their views.

The Debate

1. Urge students to take a stand on each debate question. Have their views changed since the beginning of the unit? If so, have them explore why.
2. Help students analyze the arguments given for each side of the question. Is one side stronger than the other, or are the differences merely a matter of opinion?
3. Ask students to speculate on which side of the debate questions most people in their age group would stand. Then, ask them on which side they think most Americans would stand.
4. Have students find out their representative's and senators' views on the questions.

5. Ask students to label the views presented in the debate as liberal, conservative, or neither. Why did students label the issues as they did?

6. Discuss the interrelatedness of the issues. Is there any middle ground between the pro and the con arguments presented?

Charts, Graphs, Maps, Photos, and Cartoons

1. As students study the charts and graphs in *Current Issues,* remind them to do the following.
   - Determine the kind of illustration it is—bar graph, frequency curve, pictograph, or merely a list of data.
   - Note the title, because it is the key to understanding the chart or graph.
   - Pay attention to what both axes in a graph represent and to the scale being used.
   - Check the legend or key. What do all the shadings and symbols represent?
   - Find any trends or contrasts evident in the illustration.
   - Speculate on why the illustration was included.
2. By relating the maps used in *Current Issues* to the skills developed in social studies classes, you can help your students interpret these maps. The following reminders may also help.
   - Find the illustrated area on the globe to locate its position in the world. Find the scale of the map.
   - Check the map's key and legend.
   - Look at more detailed or larger maps of the same area if you want to find further information.
   - Notice the surrounding areas, and think about how geography affects the character of a nation or region.
   - How does the map help you understand the issue?
3. The photos and cartoons in *Current Issues* were all selected to clarify the issues. Remind students of the following.
   - Read the caption to learn more about the photo or cartoon and the issue at hand.
   - Speculate on why the photo or cartoon was included in the chapter.
   - Speculate on what message the photo or cartoon is trying to convey.

ADDITIONAL ACTIVITIES

A variety of additional teaching activities and devices are offered here to enhance your current issues course. These activities should complement the previous suggestions and tie together all portions of the units for your students.

You may wish to incorporate the following activities into the *Current Issues* units.

1. Maintain a current issues bulletin board in your classroom. Students should bring in newspaper and magazine articles relating to the issue under study and post them on the board.
2. Discuss general questions with the class, such as:
    - What makes an issue or part of the world important on critical?
    - What issues or regions were critical when your parents or grandparents were teens?
    - What issues or regions do you think will be important when your children or grandchildren are in high school?
3. Have students enter their thoughts and feelings about each lesson in a journal. The journal will allow students to express candidly their reactions to the issues they have just studied, and should be particularly valuable for students who have difficulty sharing their views in class. If students are willing to hand in their journals periodically, you may gain valuable information about their reactions to the lessons. Or students may wish to write reactions to a book or article they have read, a class activity, a recent headline, or comments from the class. If students wish, allow them to share their journal entries with the class.

Follow-up Activities

After you have completed your study of *Current Issues,* you may wish to use one or more of these follow-up activities to give students some feeling of closure. These activities will help students synthesize and evaluate the information they have learned and reinforce the interrelatedness of the issues.

1. Provide students with a list of all the issues you have studied and have them rank the issues. Students could rank the issues according to what they have learned, their personal preferences, and the issues' importance for study and discussion at this time. Then ask them to circle four or five issues that they consider to be most crucial to our times, and to justify their choices in a brief essay.
2. To demonstrate the interrelatedness of the issues they have studied, ask students to write an essay explaining: (1) how the issues affect one another, and (2) how the issues affect global relations. Students should incorporate as many issues as possible.
3. If students have kept journals, have them analyze their journals at the end of the course. Which issues have had the most profound effect on them? Why?

Can they find any pattern to their reactions? Are their responses mostly positive, negative, or a mixture? Why do they think this is so? What would an outside reader think about their positions?

4. Try a sentence completion activity, either orally or in writing. Some suggestions for open-ended sentences include the following.
   - I wish we had studied more about ________________________________.
   - I wish we had spent less time on ________________________________.
   - My favorite learning activity was ________________________________.
   - The most important lesson I have learned from this course is __________.
   - In my opinion, the most important issue of our time is ______________.
5. As a concluding activity, break the students into groups of four or five. Their task is to revise the federal budget based on what they have learned about the domestic and foreign policy issues covered in this book.

   Have students read the chapter in *Current Issues* titled "The Federal Budget." Students should then create their own budget by working together in groups and coming to agreement on the figures. Each group should be prepared to address the following questions.
   - What budget items did you cut? Why?
   - What budget items did you increase? Why?
   - Did you increase the entire budget? Why or why not?
   - What percentage of the entire budget is allotted to each category? Where is your greatest spending? Where is your least spending?
   - Did you add or delete any budget categories? Why?

Ask students what they learned from trying to balance spending needs and from getting their group to agree. Relate their experiences in developing a budget to those of Congress. What are the similarities and differences?

Duplicate each group's budget and distribute it to the class. Then, have each group present its budget. Encourage students to use visual aids such as a pie chart to clarify their budgets. Each group should be prepared to answer questions from the rest of the class. If time allows, you might ask the class to arrive at a consensus budget. This might best be accomplished by choosing a committee made up of one member from each group.

Note: To help students learn more about the budget process, you might want to obtain Close Up Publishing's budget role-play game, *Slicing the Pie.*

INSTRUCTIONAL STRATEGIES

The *Current Issues Teacher's Guide* incorporates a wide range of activities. While you have undoubtedly developed a teaching style that works for you and your students and feels comfortable, educational research increasingly shows that the most successful teachers are those who can effectively apply a wide array of teaching strategies. The following section provides you with some general "tricks of the trade" and suggestions derived from experienced classroom instructors.

Brainstorming

Brainstorming is a technique for quickly generating a broad spectrum of ideas about a topic. Because no initial evaluation or discussion is allowed, brainstorming is a nonthreatening strategy that allows every student to participate regardless of academic ability. The topic for brainstorming should be clearly stated, allow for a diversity of ideas, and require no extensive prior knowledge for a student to become involved. Responses should be posted as students call them out, and no discussion should be permitted because it may inhibit creative but risky ideas. You may want to write the following brainstorming rules on the board before you start.

- Say anything that comes to mind.
- You can piggyback on the ideas of others.
- Do not evaluate or criticize what others say.
- When you cannot think of anything else, wait a minute and try again.

Another strategy for encouraging creativity is to apply the SCAMPER technique to each of the ideas suggested during brainstorming. SCAMPER allows the teacher to stimulate responses and organize them properly.

Conclude a brainstorming session by focusing students' attention on the purpose for conducting the activity.

SCAMPER TECHNIQUE

S-substitute, subtract
C-combine
A-adapt, add
M-modify, minify, magnify
P-put to other uses, piggyback
E-eliminate
R-reverse, rearrange

Debate

A debate can be an effective means of presenting most positions on current issues. It may be difficult to involve all students in a single debate, so nonteam members should serve as judges, moderators, or timekeepers to maintain interest. Holding several debates will allow all students to be on a debate team. The following debate procedures may be helpful when conducting a debate.

1. Select a topic—possibly one suggested by the class.
2. State the topic so that it has clear pro and con sides. For example: Federal funding for the homeless should be increased.
3. Select pro and con debaters and allow them time to research and prepare.
4. Select a timekeeper and a moderator.
5. Seat the debaters in front of the class with the moderator in the middle; position the side favoring the statement to the right of the moderator and the opponents to the left.

6. Begin the debate by having the moderator read the debate statement and introduce the first speaker supporting the statement. Speakers may talk only for a predetermined length of time.
7. The first opposition speaker then presents his or her arguments for the same amount of time. This format of alternating pro and con speakers continues until all speakers have presented initial arguments.
8. Rebuttal arguments are made for the specified amount of time, beginning with the group opposed to the statement.
9. Conclude the debate by polling the class. Discuss any changes of position in the audience. What were the most persuasive arguments presented by both sides?

Panel Discussion

A panel discussion is an effective means of researching and discussing a topic while allowing a sizable number of students to participate. The following guidelines may help you conduct a panel discussion.

1. The moderator introduces the topic and panelists.
2. Panelists present their views for a specified amount of time until all have spoken.
3. Panelists are given an opportunity to question other panelists and to discuss the issue.
4. The moderator closes the discussion with a summary of panel presentations.
5. The moderator calls for a forum period during which the class may question panelists.
6. Conclude the panel discussion by polling the class. Discuss any changes of position in the audience. What were the most persuasive arguments presented?

Classroom Use of Resource Persons

Local communities often offer a vast untapped resource. The Close Up Foundation has been a pioneer in using experts in the community to educate youth. Close Up staff believe that community members have much to offer students and should be included in school instruction as often as possible.

Teachers have often invited local citizens into their classes as guest lecturers. One of the most effective uses of resource persons is to provide students with a problem or issue similar to one that the resource person must face in his or her work.

Ask students what they would do in dealing with the problem or issue. Then have the resource person critique students' responses. This strategy has the benefit of limiting preparation time for the resource person because he or she simply has to apply professional knowledge in responding to students' problem-solving strategies or perspectives. In addition, such a tactic generates student interest because the resource person is bringing his or her expertise to bear on students' own ideas. This technique usually generates healthy discussion and a large number of questions.

Teachers and resource persons should always work together closely to plan the classroom visit. The following tips can help you prepare a resource person for a successful visit to your class.

1. Prepare the resource person. Tell him or her about the characteristics of your students, what they have been studying, and what to expect from them. Suggest topics you would like to have the person cover and find out what he or she requires for the presentation.
2. Prepare students adequately. Give necessary assignments far enough in advance so that students can complete them. Discuss the background of the resource person and explain procedures for the visit.
3. Have one or two students meet your guest and direct him or her to the classroom.
4. Have students prepare name tags or desk nameplates to help the resource person identify students.
5. Assist the resource person in classroom management if necessary. Do not leave the room.
6. Begin classroom activities immediately.
7. If necessary, help your visitor end the presentation and depart gracefully.
8. Provide the resource person with feedback about the presentation and write a note of appreciation.
9. Have alternatives planned just in case the resource person does not arrive. These alternatives should be educationally sound and fit in the context of the current unit of instruction.
10. You might want to give the resource persons the following do's and don'ts ahead of time to make them feel more comfortable.

    Do

    - consider the age and experience of the audience
    - prepare adequately
    - maintain eye contact
    - solicit feedback frequently
    - encourage active participation early on and throughout the presentation
    - be yourself; let your personality show; be natural; smile; relax
    - call on and interact with a variety of students
    - circulate around the room
    - involve the teacher
    - make sure everyone hears all questions and answers
    - know the objectives of your visit and how the visit relates to what students have been studying

Don't

- lecture at students
- use jargon or unfamiliar words
- act condescendingly
- become angry at heckling or passive responses
- react defensively to criticism
- read a prepared speech
- talk in a monotone
- assume that students either have or lack knowledge about a given point (find out what they know)

Role-Plays and Simulations

One of the most effective instructional techniques, when used correctly, is role-play or simulation. This technique enables students to experience a situation from the perspective of persons actually involved in a similar situation. Role-plays and simulations are an effective means of transmitting knowledge, and they have a powerful effect on attitudes as well. Finally, role-plays and simulations are excellent ways of allowing students to examine a situation from all perspectives and practice critical thinking.

The following guidelines will help you conduct role-plays and simulations.

1. Present the problem, situation, or task clearly and make sure students understand what they are expected to do.
2. Involve everyone. If there are not enough roles for all students, create new ones or conduct several versions of the simulation at the same time.
3. Involve all students as quickly as possible.
4. Begin with simple activities. Students without experience in role-plays and simulations may require time to develop the skills necessary to do them well.
5. Consider having students reverse roles. Assign students to represent views that they do not advocate personally.
6. Help students identify appropriate sources of information that will inform them of the perspective of the group or person they represent. Allow students enough time to locate and analyze information and prepare their roles. Use this preparation time to talk with groups and individuals to gauge the degree to which they understand their roles.
7. Create an accepting environment where students can make mistakes, take risks, and be creative while being responsible. Do not expect polished performances immediately.
8. Conclude with a thorough discussion. Highlight the instructional objectives you had for the activity. What did you want students to gain from the activity? Relate the role-plays or simulations to what students have been and will be

studying. Explore how students felt and what their feelings suggest about the people who experience the situation in real life. Did students feel that the roles they played were accurate representations of the real people? What did they learn from the experience?

Do not be discouraged if the role-play or simulation does not work well the first few times you use it. This technique can be difficult to use initially but pays handsome dividends once mastered.

Small-Group Cooperative Learning

Many teachers have been doing small-group work for years. Recent research suggests ways in which teachers can conduct small-group activities more effectively than by simply putting students into groups and assigning them a task.

The following guidelines will help you use cooperative small-group work.

1. Small-group activities can create opportunities for loss of control; therefore, such activities require class members to follow rules. Sample rules might include the following.
   - Move quickly and quietly to groups and remain there.
   - Talking between groups is prohibited.
   - Talking within groups must be done quietly.
   - All groups must have leaders whose task is to keep the group working, make sure that everyone participates, and keep discussions focused on the issues.
2. Organize groups heterogeneously and design group tasks in such a way that every student becomes involved.
3. Encourage students to help each other without actually doing the work of another group member. One way to encourage cooperation is to award grades based on individual work and grades based on the performance of the group. Design tasks so that each individual student can be assisted by his or her peers but cannot have the peers do the work of the individual.
4. Help students develop the skills necessary to work well in small groups. You might review the content objectives of each activity and discuss the following questions.
   - What helped this group work well together?
   - What interfered with this group's working well together?
   - What could members do next time to help improve this group's work?
   - Did everyone participate? Why or why not?
5. Keep group size small; three to five students is optimal.
6. Give clear directions and allow adequate time for students to complete the task.
7. Monitor group activities to spot areas of difficulty.

8. Use small groups only for cooperative tasks, not for independent work while merely sitting with others.

Developing Research Skills

An essential part of every student's education is to learn how to research an issue, adopt a position, and argue persuasively for that position. Many students have few skills in these areas. If students are to obtain the information that they need to act as informed public policy shapers, they need your help in developing these essential skills. The following list of skills provides a handy sequential organizer whereby teachers can guide students through the research process.

1. Recognize that research should be aimed at gaining understanding and a complete view of an issue, not simply at gathering information to argue a predetermined point.
2. Learn how to limit a subject based on time and resources available.
3. Identify sources of appropriate information.
4. Use indexes, tables of contents, and other aids to locate pertinent information quickly.
5. Understand information in written, pictorial, graphic, cartographic, mathematical, and other formats.
6. Evaluate sources for information bias, accuracy, pertinence, and authority.
7. Take notes.
8. Organize information.
9. Analyze information and draw inferences.
10. Synthesize information and develop arguments.
11. Organize ideas.
12. Support ideas.
13. Articulate or write ideas in an organized and readable manner.
14. Document sources.

The Close Up staff hopes that the information presented in this introduction will make your task of teaching *Current Issues* easier and enrich the quality of instruction for your students. Each section of the introduction is designed to make *Current Issues* a more usable resource for your classroom and the comprehensive and motivational textbook you need to teach current issues effectively.

The lesson plans that follow offer specific teaching activities, test materials, and handouts for each chapter in *Current Issues.* The keys to using these lesson plans and each section of the *Current Issues* chapters have been presented in this introduction. These keys can open up new understanding and perspective for your students as they explore the current issues of our time

LESSON PLANS

THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

The Clinton Administration 23
Congress..23
The Supreme Court 23

THE CLINTON ADMINISTRATION
CONGRESS
THE SUPREME COURT

STUDENT OBJECTIVES

Students will:

1. Identify key members of the Clinton administration and their chief responsibilities.
2. Discuss the issues taken up by the 105th Congress.
3. Discuss the makeup and functions of the Supreme Court.

TERMS AND CONCEPTS

- associate justice
- Cabinet
- campaign finance reform
- chief justice
- conservative
- divided government
- liberal
- political action committee (PAC)
- soft money
- term limits

ACTIVITIES

1. To introduce the unit, ask students to define government. Discuss why government is necessary. Divide the class into small groups of three or four students and ask them to consider and jot down answers to the questions below. (Encourage students to be specific and to cite examples whenever possible.)

- What services and rights should you expect from the government?
- What impact does the government have on your daily life?
- What impact can you have on the government and its policies?
- What would happen if the government suddenly ceased to exist?

After an appropriate period of time, have a spokesperson from each group give his or her group's responses to the questions. Do all groups agree? Point out that differences of opinion on questions such as these reflect similar differences in political parties, Congress, and society at large.

Finally, ask students what conclusions they can draw from this discussion. Point out that it is vital that students be informed about all aspects of the operation of government, and that becoming informed is one of the goals of studying *Current Issues.*

2. After students read "The Clinton Administration," have them consider the following questions.

- What qualifications are common for high-level officials in the executive branch?
- Why do you think certain persons were selected for certain positions? Were they all qualified? Have they had other federal jobs?
- What common personal characteristics or traits do many officials in the executive branch share?

Next, using a wide variety of current events sources, have students identify controversial or important issues being faced by officials listed in "The Clinton Administration." You might want to assign each official to one or two students to ensure that all are covered. Students should consider how decisions made by these officials influence the country, students' friends and neighbors, and the students themselves. Discuss the political ideology of several of these men and women, and encourage students to predict their actions during the next year.

3. Open the discussion by asking the class what "separation of powers" means. Explain that in the American political system, each branch of government is assigned a specific function: The legislative branch—Congress—makes laws; the executive branch—led by the president—enforces laws; and the judicial branch—federal courts and the Supreme Court—interprets laws. Review with the class the historical reasons for adopting this system. Ask what problems separation of powers can and does cause.

Next, have students read the "Congress" chapter, and then, with them working in pairs, allow students time to answer the questions on **Student Handout 1—Learning About Congress.** They can answer the first six questions from information in the chapter; they will have to use an outside resource to answer the last four questions. A local or state newspaper should provide the information.

After students have finished with the handout, lead a class discussion based on their answers. Conclude by asking students to use what they have read to speculate on the major issues Congress will likely take up in 1998 and 1999.

4. Begin the activity by asking students to imagine how society would operate if there were no courts to resolve differences of opinion. Discuss their responses. Then, point out some unique features of federal judges: (1) they are not elected, (2) they serve for life, and (3) they can only be removed from office through impeachment. Ask students to explain what the motives of the framers of the Constitution might have been for establishing such rules. (They wanted a judiciary free from political pressure and one that would base its decisions solely on the Constitution and the law rather than on what might be popular or politically expedient.)

Broaden the discussion by explaining that judges, like everyone else, have a broad range of opinions. The opinions they hold reveal whether they are liberal, conservative, or somewhere in between. Discuss with students how liberals and conservatives generally view the role of government in society. But also be sure to stress that attaching labels to political opinions can be misleading. Some Americans are liberal on social issues and conservative on economic issues. Others are just the opposite. In reality, most Americans consider themselves to be moderates in political ideology.

Focus the discussion by asking what difference it makes whether the Supreme Court has a liberal or a conservative majority. Students should read "The Supreme Court" in *Current Issues* and, either in class discussion or in writing, answer the following questions.

- What is the main function of the Supreme Court?
- How does the Court shape American political and social life?
- How has the Burger-Rehnquist Court differed in its decisions from the Warren Court?
- What influence did President Reagan have on the Supreme Court?
- What influence did President Bush have on the Court?
- What influence has President Clinton had on the Court?

5. To help your students read, comprehend, and think critically about the information in the "Federal Government" section, ask them to complete the activities on **Student Handout 21—Learning New Information.** You may want them to work on the handout individually in class or as a homework assignment or to complete the handout working in small groups.

After students have finished the handout, use the information to lead a discussion about the branches of the federal government and the budget. Ask students to read their answers aloud in class and urge them to expand on the information they have gleaned from the reading.

ENRICHMENT ACTIVITIES

Use the following activities to enrich your unit on the federal government. You may find the activities valuable for evaluation, extra credit, or as an additional assignment for the unit.

1. Encourage students to become and stay informed about current events by having them bring to class one article each week from a newspaper or magazine pertaining to a current issue. The article should be accompanied by a summary of its main points and the student's reaction to the issues it raises. By doing this, students will learn to appreciate that the U.S. political system is dynamic and flexible. Post the articles on a bulletin board under appropriate heads and spend a few minutes each day reviewing the new additions.

2. Have students research and write sketches of each Supreme Court justice. Urge them to pay particular attention to the justices' past records. Discuss each justice in class, and ask if justices ever change their political ideology once they are on the Supreme Court. Suggest some reasons why.

3. One often forgotten member of the administration is the vice president. Have students research the office of the vice president to find out what the qualifications are, what famous men have held the position, and what the vice president's duties are. Then lead a class discussion on these findings. How are vice presidential candidates chosen? Why did Bill Clinton choose Al Gore to be his running mate? Was Gore qualified? What qualifications was Bob Dole looking for when he chose his running mate in 1996? Have there been vice presidential candidates whose qualifications were questioned? Did any of them go on to become president? You might mention the concerns many had about Harry Truman's qualifications, or the fact that President Dwight Eisenhower had serious doubts about Richard Nixon and many advised Eisenhower to drop Nixon from the ticket in 1956.

LESSON PLANS

DOMESTIC POLICY ISSUES

The Federal Budget..........................29
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Health Care and Aging 47
Immigration 49
The Media 53
Poverty 57
Women and Minorities 61

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THE FEDERAL BUDGET

STUDENT OBJECTIVES

Students will:

1. Define concepts relating to the federal budget and the national debt.
2. Recognize the difficulties in developing a budget.
3. Examine arguments presented by groups affected by congressional decisions.
4. Identify the players in the budget process.

TERMS AND CONCEPTS

- appropriation bill
- authorization bill
- balanced budget amendment
- budget deficit
- discretionary spending
- entitlements
- fiscal year
- generational responsibility
- mandatory spending
- national debt
- Office of Management and Budget (OMB)
- reconciliation bill
- revenue
- temporary spending resolution

ACTIVITIES

1. Write on the board *$1,730,000,000,000.* Explain that this figure represents the federal budget for fiscal year 1999. Students should read "The Federal Budget," paying close attention to the charts and graphs.

Then, divide the class into groups of not more than five and distribute **Student Handout 2—Ranking the Budget.** Give groups adequate time in class to complete the first part of the handout or allow them to do it as a homework project. Point out that the twenty categories listed are merely representative of the hundreds of existing programs. When everyone is ready, have a representative from each group read its list. Compare the results. Can the entire class reach a consensus on the nation's budget priorities? Next, have the groups meet again to discuss the second part of **Student Handout 2,** which asks them to describe the economic, social, and political implications of their budget as it reflect their priorities.

Refer students to the chart on page 40 of the standard edition of *Current Issues* and page 42 of the basic edition, which shows how federal money is spent. In the subsequent discussion, try to address the following issues.

- The national debt poses serious problems for all Americans.
- Reducing federal expenditures is difficult, especially given the likely public response to cuts in popular areas.
- Increasing taxes may be necessary to keep the budget balanced.
- Congress and the president must cooperate during the budget process.
- The ideological positions held by leaders in the executive and legislative branches exert a powerful influence on the budget process.
- Balancing the federal budget is not easy.

2. Divide your class into four groups of equal size and assign each group to represent one of the following:

- a Wall Street stock market investment firm
- members of the American Association of Retired Persons (AARP)
- recent college graduates
- elected members of Congress serving on the "Save Social Security" Commission

The members of Congress on the Save Social Security Commission are looking for ways to reform Social Security so that it does not run out of money early in the next century. It is considering the following proposals:

(1) raising the retirement age from 65 to 67

(2) removing the cap of $68,400 on which American workers now pay the 6.2 percent payroll tax

(3) privatizing Social Security so that some of the money Americans now contribute would be invested in stock by private investment companies

The groups representing the Wall Street firm, the members of AARP, and the recent college graduates should prepare arguments stating their positions for or against these proposals and pick one representative to argue their group's case in front of the Save Social Security Commission. Each group should try to decide how these proposals would affect its interests. Meanwhile, the members of the commission should be prepared to ask each group questions after its spokesperson has presented his or her argument. After groups have testified, poll the entire class on which plan they believe would be best for saving Social Security.

3. To help your students read, comprehend, and think critically about the information in the "Federal Budget" chapter, ask them to complete the activities on **Student Handout 22—Learning New Information.** You may want them to work on the handout individually in class or as a homework assignment or to complete the handout working in small groups.

After students have finished the handout, use the information to lead a discussion about the federal budget. Ask students to read their answers aloud in class and urge them to expand on the information they have gleaned from the reading.

ENRICHMENT ACTIVITIES

Use the following activities to enrich your unit on the federal budget. You may find the activities valuable for evaluation, extra credit, or as an additional assignment for the unit.

1. Organize classroom debates on the following statements.

- Congress should pass a balanced budget amendment.
- The line-item veto is unconstitutional.
- Social Security should be reformed.

Allow debaters adequate time to research their topics. Before beginning debates, select a timekeeper and a moderator to keep the debates orderly and to keep them moving. You may also want to select a panel of judges or simply poll the entire class at the end of each debate to determine a "winner." The affirmative, or pro side, should go first for a set length of time followed by the negative, or con side, for the same length of time. Then allow each side two minutes for rebuttal. After a winner has been determined, briefly discuss the strengths and weaknesses of the arguments.

2. Ask members of your class to write letters to their representative or senators about the national debt or some aspect of the federal budget. They should carefully study a part of the budget or a tax in which they are interested or that may affect them and their families, and then express their views in a thoughtful letter. Discuss with them the most effective way to express a view in a letter and suggest they invite their members of Congress to respond. They can address letters to:

(Senator's name)
Senate Office Building
Washington, DC 20510

or

(Representative's name)
House Office Building
Washington, DC 20515

CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS

STUDENT OBJECTIVES

Students will:

1. Identify the freedoms guaranteed by the Bill of Rights and the Fourteenth Amendment.
2. Recognize the role of the Supreme Court in interpreting constitutional issues.
3. Investigate arguments on both sides of a controversial issue.
4. Compare student and adult attitudes toward free speech on the Internet.

TERMS AND CONCEPTS

- assisted suicide
- Bill of Rights
- Communications Decency Act
- exclusionary rule
- federalism
- Fourteenth Amendment
- Religious Freedom Restoration Act
- undue burden
- unenumerated rights

ACTIVITIES

1. Introduce the unit by familiarizing students with the Bill of Rights. Have students complete **Student Handout 3—Constitutional Amendments** using information provided in *Current Issues* and a copy of the Bill of Rights.

Review the handout in class to ensure that students are familiar with the rights guaranteed in the Bill of Rights and the Supreme Court decisions that have affected those rights. Then, use the following questions to lead a discussion about rights guaranteed in the Constitution.

- What does constitutional government mean? What are some characteristics of constitutional government?
- The First Amendment says "Congress shall make no law . . . abridging the freedom of speech. . . ." What does this imply? Does the First Amendment grant rights to Americans, or does it protect them from government infringement on their rights?
- Why did some framers of the Constitution believe the rights of citizens had to be protected from the government?
- Do you think the framers meant to absolutely bar any restrictions of speech and press? What kinds of expression do you think may not be protected by the Constitution?
- What procedural rights does an accused person have?
- What does "due process" mean? Who should decide what is fair, the legislature or the courts?

Urge students to read the Bill of Rights and jot down any questions they would like to ask during the study of this unit.

2. Divide your class into four groups (if you have more than thirty students, use eight groups) and assign one of the following topics to each group:

- abortion
- doctor-assisted suicide
- free exercise of religion
- gun control

Then, distribute **Student Handout 4—Topic Research** and give students sufficient time to complete the handout. Groups should answer the questions on their handouts as they apply to the topics they were assigned. Remind the students that they will be responsible for reporting back to the entire class. After they have finished with the handout, have each group report its findings to the class and allow the rest of the students to question group members. As the teacher, you may want to play devil's advocate by pressing groups to explain their reasoning. Encourage their classmates to pose tough questions to the presenters.

3. Divide the class into two groups of equal size. Label them A and B. Then, tell students that individually they are going to poll a small number of people either in or out of school to find out opinions about free speech on the Internet.

Both groups will ask the following question of the people its members poll.

- Should information transmitted over the Internet be censored?

Each member of group A will ask this question of three high school students. Group B will ask this same question of three adults in the community. Group members should not poll an individual that someone else has previously polled.

Set a time limit for completion of the poll. Then, get the groups together to tabulate results. They should determine the number of respondents who said "no" and the number who said "yes." When both groups have finished, post the results on the board and lead a discussion based on the outcome. What do the results show about community attitudes on this matter? Do students have significantly different opinions than adults? What comments did respondents make after they answered the question?

4. To help your students read, comprehend, and think critically about the information in the "Constitutional Rights" chapter, ask them to complete the activities on **Student Handout 23—Learning New Information.** You may want them to work on the handout individually in class or as a homework assignment or to complete the handout working in small groups.

After students have finished the handout, use the information to lead a discussion about constitutional rights. Ask students to read their answers aloud in class and urge them to expand on the information they have gleaned from the reading.

ENRICHMENT ACTIVITIES

Use the following activities to enrich your unit on constitutional rights. You may find the activities valuable for evaluation, extra credit, or as an additional assignment for the unit.

1. The role of the Supreme Court in interpreting the Bill of Rights is vitally important. Have students research key cases in which the Court has addressed constitutional rights. Listed below are some suggestions for research.

Cases dealing with freedom of belief:

School District of Abington v. Schempp (1963)
Welsh v. United States (1970)
Wallace v. Jaffree (1985)

Cases dealing with freedom of expression:

New York Times v. United States (1971)
Miller v. California (1973)
Hazelwood School District v. Kuhlmeier (1988)
Texas v. Johnson (1989)

Cases dealing with rights of the accused:

Gideon v. Wainwright (1963)
Miranda v. Arizona (1966)
In re Gault (1967)
United States v. Garrison (1984)
Maryland v. Garrison (1987)
United States v. Salerno (1987)

2. One way of teaching students to appreciate the freedoms enjoyed by Americans is to have them compare civil liberties in the United States with civil liberties in other countries. Assign various countries to interested students and have them report back to the class. It may be interesting for them to report on rights in nations such as Canada, China, Cuba, Iran, and Russia.

CRIME AND DRUGS

STUDENT OBJECTIVES

Students will:

1. Separate fact and opinion about crime and drugs in the United States.
2. Survey community attitudes about crime and drugs.
3. Analyze graphs and charts.

TERMS AND CONCEPTS

- Brady gun control law
- drug trafficking
- gun control
- mandatory sentencing
- Megan's law
- Second Amendment
- "three strikes and you're out"
- Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act of 1994

ACTIVITIES

1. Begin by telling students that you are going to read several statements relating to the issues of crime and illegal drug use in the United States, and that after each statement is read they are going to move to one side of the room or the other, depending on whether they think the statement is fact or opinion. Students who think the statement is a fact should line up on the left side of the room; students who think the statement is an opinion should line up on the right side. Begin with the first statement on the following list.

- About 1.7 million violent crimes are committed in the United States every year. (fact)
- The illegal drug trade encourages violence and crime in U.S. cities. (opinion)
- The roots of crime are unemployment and poverty. (opinion)
- Of every 1,000 people arrested for violent crimes, only 350 are ever sent to prison. (fact)
- The drug problem would lessen if the government spent more money fighting the demand for drugs rather than the supply. (opinion)
- The only way violent crime in the United States can be curbed is by limiting or banning handgun possession. (opinion)
- The majority of Americans polled on the matter believe that the government should fight crime by getting tougher on criminals. (fact)
- Drug abuse is a problem only for young, low-income, and minority Americans. (opinion)
- A high percentage of people in prison are guilty of drug-related crimes. (fact)
- In 1996 and 1997, the violent crime rate dropped in major U.S. cities. (fact)
- Most federal crime legislation passed during the 1980s and 1990s emphasizes enforcement and punishment over crime prevention. (fact)

After students react to each statement and both sides have stabilized, ask several students from each side to explain their position. Allow students to interact and ask questions of each other, but remind them that this is a discussion and an opportunity for you to determine what previous knowledge they have about the topic.

When all statements have been read, discuss how they can tell if a statement is a fact or an opinion. (Facts are based on supportive numbers, statistics, or documented evidence; opinions are based on a belief, an interpretation, or an impression.)

Conclude by reading each statement again and asking students to identify the specific information or words that distinguish it as fact or opinion.

2. After students have read "Crime and Drugs," tell them that they are going to find out how members of their community feel about crime. Distribute copies of **Student Handout 5—Community Crime Survey** to each member of the class. Then, have each student survey five people who live in their community. They should mark all five respondents' answers on one copy of the handout.

After students have completed the survey, bring them back together and tally the results on the board. Do the results of the survey show any clear attitudes about crime or drugs in your community? Discuss each item and why students think people responded as they did. Pay particular attention to items on which respondents were clearly divided. Ask class members if they think the gender, income, education, or religion of respondents had any bearing on the outcome.

You might want to follow up this activity by asking the school or community newspapers to publish the results. Perhaps your students could write letters to the editor to accompany the results of the survey.

★ **3.** To help your students read, comprehend, and think critically about the information in the "Crime and Drugs" chapter, ask them to complete the activities on **Student Handout 24—Learning New Information.** You may want them to work on the handout individually in class or as a homework assignment or to complete the handout working in small groups.

After students have finished the handout, use the information to lead a discussion about crime and drugs. Ask students to read their answers aloud in class and urge them to expand on the information they have gleaned from the reading.

ENRICHMENT ACTIVITIES

Use the following activities to enrich your unit on crime and drugs. You may find the activities valuable for evaluation, extra credit, or as an additional assignment for the unit.

1. Have students research crime statistics in your city and/or state. They should go to local police departments or read court records to find out the number of arrests and convictions for violent crimes for the previous year or two. They should also attempt to find out how many of those arrests and convictions were drug related. Ask them to compare the most recent statistics with earlier years and conclude whether or not violent crime is rising or falling.

2. Invite speakers to class to talk to your students about gun control. Ask a representative from each side of the issue to state why he or she is for or against stiffer gun control laws. Likely speakers would come from groups such as the National Rifle Association; Handgun Control, Inc.; police departments; shooting clubs; and other organizations that have taken a stand on the issue. It may also be interesting to invite a constitutional lawyer to address the issue from the perspective of the Second Amendment. To help your students better understand the issue of gun control, you may want to obtain from Close Up Publishing a copy of the videotape *To Keep and Bear Arms: Gun Control and the Second Amendment.*

3. Divide the class into two groups. Then, have each student in one group write one paragraph favoring and one paragraph opposing the following statement.

- The federal government should fight drugs by attacking the supply of drugs coming into the United States rather than trying to reduce the demand.

The second group should write similar paragraphs about this statement:

- If the voters in a state approve, marijuana should be made legal to use for medical purposes.

When class members have finished writing their paragraphs, ask students from both groups to read their pro and con arguments. Discuss both sides of the issues with the class. Conclude by asking for a show of hands to find out how your students feel about the issues.

THE ECONOMY

STUDENT OBJECTIVES

Students will:

1. Recognize the interdependence of economic issues.
2. Respond to questions based on readings.

TERMS AND CONCEPTS

- budget deficit
- Federal Reserve Board
- flat tax
- Group of Eight (G-8)
- income gap
- inflation
- international interdependence
- minimum wage
- national sales tax
- productivity
- recession
- supply-side economics
- unemployment

ACTIVITIES

1. Begin by pointing out to students that many relationships among the economic concepts described in "The Economy" may not always be readily apparent to them. Then, distribute **Student Handout 6—Cause/Effect Relationships.** Divide the class into groups of three or four and ask each group to analyze each pair of terms listed on the handout. They should try to determine how the two terms in each pair relate to each other. When groups have finished, have the whole class analyze the items on the handout. Use the discussion guide below to help you lead the class discussion. Encourage students to offer any additional relationships they may have noted along the way.

Discussion Guide for Student Handout 6

1. If other countries produce more, they can spread their costs among more products, thereby reducing the sale price of individual items.
2. Asians buy fewer American products when their economy is in recession. Therefore, American companies may close down or reduce their workforce.
3. When the government overspends, it has to borrow money to pay its bills. This means that both the government and consumers are asking banks for loans. When demand goes up, prices generally follow. Interest rates work the same way: When demand for money is high, interest rates go up.
4. If businesses have to pay more to borrow money, they will be reluctant to expand. They will, therefore, be less likely to hire new workers.
5. If the value of money goes down (inflation), people have little incentive to save. Therefore, banks have less money to loan to consumers or businesses.
6. If taxes are reduced, businesses can keep more of their profits to use for expansion. Thus, they will likely hire more workers.
7. When people are laid off, they can collect unemployment compensation. When unemployment rises, the government has to pay more for unemployment compensation, causing the deficit to worsen. Plus, unemployed people pay less in taxes; this also adds to the deficit.
8. When Americans reduce the number of foreign products they buy, they reduce the income of foreigners. Thus, foreigners have less money to spend on imports from the United States.

2. To help your students read, comprehend, and think critically about the information in the "Economy" chapter, ask them to complete the activities on **Student Handout 25—Learning New Information.** You may want them to work on the handout individually in class or as a homework assignment or to complete the handout working in small groups.

After students have finished the handout, use the information to lead a discussion about the economy. Ask students to read their answers aloud in class, and urge them to expand on the information they have gleaned from the reading.

ENRICHMENT ACTIVITIES

Use the following activities to enrich your unit on the economy. You may find the activities valuable for evaluation, extra credit, or as an additional assignment for the unit.

1. Have students create a visual expression of a position they support from the "Debate" section of the chapter. Their visual could be in the form of a diagram, a set of political cartoons, a collage, or any other medium they wish to use. Tell them that they should illustrate their positions effectively enough so that others in the class can know exactly what their positions are by viewing the illustration. Once the visuals are finished, display together all those that represent the same topic. In a class discussion, have students analyze the illustrations. Which are the most powerful? Which would the current administration most support? Which would be most supported by the party out of power?

2. Organize debates on the key questions in "The Economy."

- The government should do more to close the income gap.
- The government should abandon the current tax system.
- The government focuses too much on controlling inflation.

Refer to the section on page 15 under "Instructional Strategies" to get tips on organizing and conducting your debates.

EDUCATION

STUDENT OBJECTIVES

Students will:

1. Identify problems and reform efforts in U.S. public schools.
2. Debate issues of federal involvement, school choice, and multicultural curricula.
3. Match vocabulary words with appropriate descriptions.
4. Analyze charts and photos.

TERMS AND CONCEPTS

- busing
- charter schools
- desegregation
- Goals 2000: Educate America Act
- Great Society
- Head Start
- magnet schools
- national standards
- school choice
- tax credits
- vouchers

ACTIVITIES

1. After students have read "Education" in *Current Issues,* ask them to list the problems identified in the chapter. Then, in a class discussion, have them identify reforms that some districts and schools have made in response to the problems.

Once students understand the basic problems in education today and the types of reforms that are being implemented in school districts around the nation, have them do research on how the problems and reforms apply to your school district.

First, divide the class into groups of four or five. Then, tell students that they are going to present a mock television report called "Channel 99 Roving Reporter—Focus on Our School." They are going to report on the status of their school in relation to the problems and reforms identified in *Current Issues.* Each group should choose which research topic or topics to investigate. Sample topics are listed at the end of this activity; others could be added. Some topics will take more time to investigate than others, so divide them among student groups accordingly.

Student Handout 7—Research Outline can be used to help students organize their research. They should talk with teachers, counselors, administrators, and district personnel to learn pertinent information. After students have collected this information, they need to analyze the material and write down their thoughts. What changes do they think should be implemented to deal with the problems? What are the costs and/or benefits of such changes?

On the day of the mock TV report, have members from each group report to the class, taking the roles of reporters. Urge the rest of the class to question the reporters about their topic. If you have video equipment, tape the session.

To conclude the activity, ask students which reforms or changes they think should be implemented. Which ones may take time to implement? Which could be implemented quickly? How might the quality of their education be affected by the implementation of their ideas?

Sample Research Topics

- funding sources for the local school district and areas of possible budget cuts
- local district teachers' salaries compared to neighboring districts and to professions requiring similar educational levels
- local district testing program—what is tested, at what grade levels, and conclusions drawn from the test results
- school reforms in your state and district in the past ten years
- percentage of district funds used for students with special needs, including any construction costs incurred to make buildings more accessible for students with physical disabilities
- district and state drop-out rates and how they are calculated
- graduation rate of students starting first grade
- state and federal requirements your district must meet
- comparison of per-pupil costs in your district with similar neighboring districts'
- programs for educating students who speak English as a second language
- charter schools, vouchers, or other alternative education programs in your district

2. Organize a debate over the issues raised by the key questions in the "Education" chapter. Do not tell students which side or which issue they will actually debate until five or ten minutes before the debate begins. This tactic will force students to prepare to debate all three issues from both sides. Urge them to read *Current Issues* carefully, along with other outside sources such as newspapers and newsmagazines. Debate the following statements.

- The federal government should implement national standards and testing.
- Parents should be given vouchers to help them send their children to private schools.
- The government should give tax credits to lower- and middle-income parents of college students.

Select students for issues and sides in any way you think best—either by having them state their preferences or by drawing names out of a hat. You may want to select small teams of students to represent each topic and side and allow them to prepare their arguments as a team, or you may wish to have students debate one-on-one. After each issue has been debated, ask the class which arguments were most persuasive. Ask debaters if their views changed or if they better understand the position of the other side.

3. To help your students read, comprehend, and think critically about the information in the "Education" chapter, ask them to complete the activities on **Student Handout 26—Learning New Information.** You may want them to work on the handout individually in class or as a homework assignment or to complete the handout working in small groups.

After students have finished the handout, use the information to lead a discussion about education in America. Ask students to read their answers in class and urge them to expand on the information they have gleaned from the reading.

ENRICHMENT ACTIVITIES

Use the following activities to enrich your unit on education. You may find the activities valuable for evaluation, extra credit, or as an additional assignment for the unit.

1. Regarding the question "Should the government give parents vouchers to pay for private schools?" ask students if they would attend a different school if they could choose. Why would they stay or why would they change? What would they look for in another school? Would their classmates leave in great numbers to go to other schools? Why or why not?

2. Supporters of charter schools or other alternative schools often say that schools should be run like a business. They believe that such schools would succeed only if they could "sell" themselves to potential customers. Divide your class into small groups and ask each group to decide what kind of school they would offer if they could and then develop a plan to "sell" their school to the rest of the class. They should come up with an advertising campaign that will make their school look so attractive that everyone will want to go there. After groups have finished, have each one make its presentation in front of the class.

3. Have your class conduct a survey to find out how many students in your school have part-time jobs. You might want to divide the class into several groups, with each group surveying a particular segment of students. For example, each of three or four groups could survey one grade in your school. Or, there may be some other groups in your school that you think might be interesting to survey. Dividing respondents into particular groups like this will allow your class to compare statistics and observe trends. Surveys should find out the following from each respondent:

- hours worked per week
- time of day respondent works (during school hours, after school, evening, or early morning)
- type of work
- gender of student
- reason for working
- extracurricular activities
- effect of job on school work

You may add to or subtract from this list as you see fit. Tally survey results and post them on the board or make copies for all to see. Discuss the results and their implications in class. It might be interesting for the school newspaper to publish the results of your class's survey.

HEALTH CARE AND AGING

STUDENT OBJECTIVES

Students will:

1. Describe the reasons for rapidly rising health care costs.
2. Examine why specific special interest groups supported or opposed President Clinton's plan for universal health insurance.
3. Identify and define key terms related to the health care issue.

TERMS AND CONCEPTS

- acquired immune deficiency syndrome (AIDS)
- baby-boom generation
- deductible
- Food and Drug Administration (FDA)
- health maintenance organizations (HMOs)
- Health Insurance Portability Act
- human immunodeficiency virus (HIV)
- managed care
- Medicaid
- Medicare
- universal coverage

ACTIVITIES

1. Distribute **Student Handout 8—Student Survey.** Have students mark each statement "true" or "false." Point out that this is a survey measuring perception rather than a test measuring factual knowledge. When everyone is done, consider each item individually, polling the students on whether they think the statement is true or false. Encourage students to explain their answers, drawing from their own experiences if possible. After the discussion, explain to the class that all the statements are true.

Next, have students read the introduction to the "Health Care and Aging" chapter in *Current Issues.* Discuss with them the reasons for rising health care costs. Broaden the discussion by asking them how people can cope with this problem. Point out that most Americans are covered by private health insurance and that medical insurance is a common fringe benefit for employees, yet nearly 41 million Americans have no health insurance. Ask students to think of ways in which America's health care problems might affect them personally. List their responses on the board and discuss why they are important. Responses may include such concerns as increased taxes, family stresses caused by health care expenses, or reductions in other government services that provide benefits, such as student loans.

2. Early in his first term, President Clinton proposed a plan that would provide health insurance to all Americans. However, several special interest groups opposed his plan. Polls showed that middle-class Americans with health insurance feared reduced benefits and increased costs. Assign two or three students to research and present the perspective of one of the following groups to the class:

- public hospital administrators
- older Americans
- middle-class Americans with insurance
- part-time employees without medical insurance as part of their employee benefits
- Americans with disabilities
- private insurance companies
- small business owners

Using newspapers and journals, have students research how their assigned group reacted to the Clinton proposal. Why did their group support or oppose Clinton's plan? What did their group want from a health care plan? What did their group lobby against? Have each group state the argument for their special interest group. Encourage students to point out conflicts that their special interest group will have with other special interest groups. After all groups have had an opportunity to present their side, ask students to develop a policy that they think would best protect the interests of all citizens.

★ **3.** To help your students read, comprehend, and think critically about the information in the "Health Care and Aging" chapter, ask them to complete the activities on **Student Handout 27—Learning New Information.** You may want them to work on the handout individually in class or as a homework assingnment or to complete the handout working in small groups.

After students have finished the handout, use the information to lead a discussion about health care and aging. Ask them to read their answers aloud in class and urge them to expand on the information they have gleaned from the reading.

ENRICHMENT ACTIVITIES

Use the following activities to enrich your unit on health care and aging in the United States. You may find the activities valuable for evaluation, extra credit, or as an additional assignment for the unit.

1. If possible, have students invite parents, grandparents, physicians, and insurance brokers to sit on a panel discussing health issues. Students should prepare questions regarding Medicare, Medicaid, and other types of health insurance. Questions can range from the technical to personal experiences with health costs and medical care. Select one group of students to compile and edit questions submitted by the class and another to ask questions of the panel. If possible, students should make most of the arrangements.

2. One proposal to cut Medicare costs to the government has been to make older Americans pay higher monthly premiums for supplemental coverage. Ask students to interview one older person who is eligible for Medicare and one younger working person to find out their opinions about that proposal. Students should then write a one-page report on their findings and read their reports to the class.

IMMIGRATION

STUDENT OBJECTIVES

Students will:

1. Discuss which people can be called Americans and why.
2. Evaluate government policies toward immigrants.
3. Identify important U.S. immigration laws.
4. Defend or oppose an "English only" policy.

TERMS AND CONCEPTS

- amnesty
- Anti-Terrorism Act
- assimilation
- illegal alien
- 1996 Immigration Act
- official language
- Proposition 187
- quotas
- refugee

ACTIVITIES

1. To introduce the study of immigration, write the following questions on the board and have students share their responses.

- *Who is an American?*
- *Are some people more American than others?*

In the ensuing discussion, students may make ethnocentric or stereotypical statements, especially in response to the second question. Identify such statements. Ask students what negative consequences might result when certain people think that they are more American than other people. How might the community be affected by these consequences?

Emphasize the following points.

- An American is any inhabitant of North or South America.
- A U.S. citizen is anyone who was born in the United States, born of a U.S. citizen, or naturalized.
- Every nonnaturalized citizen is a descendant of an immigrant.
- American Indians, although often called "Native Americans," are descendants of people who probably came over the Bering Strait from Asia thousands of years ago.
- More than 50 million people have immigrated to the United States.

To conclude the activity, discuss key questions from "Immigration" in *Current Issues.*

2. Divide the class into groups of no more than five students. Distribute **Student Handout 9—Immigration Candidates.** Briefly review the instructions. Tell students that their groups have fifteen minutes to decide which, if any, of the candidates should be admitted to the United States.

Then, discuss student responses. Encourage them to explain their choices and tell which subjects caused the most division among the group members. Next, broaden the discussion by asking why immigrants come to the United States. Point out that most reasons can be classified into four categories: political, economic, religious, or family reunification.

Explain that the present law sets up a system of preferences. First priority is given to family members of U.S. citizens, followed by family members of lawfully admitted aliens. Third priority is given to members of professions in the arts and sciences. Last priority is given to skilled and unskilled workers who fill a labor shortage in the United States. Ask the class, "Does this preference system force you to change your decisions about who should be allowed in and who should be denied entrance?"

★ **3.** To help your students read, comprehend, and think critically about the information in the "Immigration" chapter, ask them to complete the activities on **Student Handout 28—Learning New Information.** You may want them to work on the handout individually in class or as a homework assignment or to complete the handout working in small groups.

After students have finished the handout, use the information to lead a discussion about immigration. Ask students to read their answers aloud in class and urge them to expand on the information they have gleaned from the reading.

ENRICHMENT ACTIVITIES

Use the following activities to enrich your unit on immigration. You may find the activities valuable for evaluation, extra credit, or as an additional assignment for the unit.

1. To prepare for a mock hearing of a Presidential Immigration Commission, divide the class into the following seven groups:

- California farmers
- border patrol officers
- employers of illegal aliens
- labor union officials
- immigrants legally residing in the United States
- public officials of a U.S.-Mexican border city
- the Presidential Immigration Commission

The group representing the Presidential Immigration Commission should prepare by studying current immigration laws and discussing the procedures they will use in the hearing. Meanwhile, using information from *Current Issues* and other sources, the other six groups should do the following.

- Identify their interests in, and concerns with, current immigration laws
- Develop arguments supporting the interests they have identified
- Collect evidence supporting their arguments
- Identify areas where they may be willing to negotiate and compromise

- Speculate on arguments that their opponents may use and develop a response to each argument.

When the groups have completed their work, conduct a hearing by the Presidential Immigration Commission. The commission's job is to develop a federal immigration policy to recommend to the president and Congress. The commission should attempt to draft a policy that satisfies—or is at least an acceptable compromise for—everyone. Emphasize to students that all sides may have to sacrifice some policies to get others that they believe are more important. The commission should be familiar enough with current immigration legislation to make accurate recommendations. After each group has presented its position before the commission and all sides have had a chance to negotiate, the commission should come up with a final recommendation.

After the commission has presented its recommendation, ask students to abandon the identities they had in their groups and discuss the issues from their personal perspectives. They should refer to the pro/con positions they developed earlier. Has this exercise changed their positions? Why or why not? If they think the policy developed by the commission still presents a problem, what solution do they offer? Remind them of the need to satisfy a range of constituencies, as represented in the hearing. Finally, compare their solutions with recently enacted immigration laws. What are the similarities and differences?

Conclude with a discussion of what students learned from the mock hearing. Emphasize the value of compromise in a democracy and the difficulty of reaching decisions when many different opinions are held.

2. Invite a recent immigrant to speak to the class. Have students develop questions the day before the interview. Sample questions might include the following.

- Why did you come to the United States?
- What problems did you face or do you continue to face?
- How are you dealing with these problems?
- Do you believe that the United States is the land of opportunity?
- What has surprised you most about the United States?
- What do you miss most about your native country?
- If you knew then what you know now, would you still have come to the United States?

THE MEDIA

STUDENT OBJECTIVES

Students will:

1. Speculate on how historical or current events might have been affected if different choices had been made by those involved.
2. Compare the importance of a free press to the importance of government.
3. Debate the pros and cons of certain media issues.
4. Interpret the messages of photographs and a cartoon.

TERMS AND CONCEPTS

- freedom of the press
- global village
- interactive media
- the Internet
- "new media"
- national security
- Pentagon Papers
- sedition
- sensationalist journalism
- Sixth Amendment
- sound bite

ACTIVITIES

1. After students have read "The Media" in *Current Issues,* lead a brief discussion tracing the history of news dissemination in the United States and the effect a free press has had on the development of American democracy. Remind students of the influence of media on U.S. history, especially in areas such as political campaigns, wars, and scandal.

Next, hand out copies of **Student Handout 10—What Ifs About the Media.** Allow students enough time to complete the handout, either in class or as a homework assignment. They may work in pairs or larger groups. After students have completed the handouts, proceed through each of the what ifs. Emphasize the significance of each event or situation and how different choices could have affected history or current events.

2. Write Thomas Jefferson's quote on the board:

> *Were it left to me to decide whether we should have a government without newspapers or newspapers without a government, I should not hesitate a moment to prefer the latter.*

Then, lead a discussion based on his quote. The following questions may help focus the discussion.

- Could we get along without government if we had a totally free press in our society?
- What role did Jefferson think newspapers would play in the absence of government?
- What would government be like if our press were tightly restricted and the news controlled?
- Would Jefferson have the same idea today? Would he have believed the same way if he could have substituted "television" for "newspaper"?
- Do you agree with Jefferson? Why or why not?

3. Organize classroom debates on the following statements.

- The "new media" harm the political process.
- Television cameras should be allowed in courtrooms.
- Television stations should give free airtime to political candidates.

Allow debaters adequate time to research their topics. Before beginning debates, select a moderator and a timekeeper to keep the debates orderly and to keep them moving. You may also want to select a panel of judges or simply poll the entire class at the end of each debate to determine a "winner." The affirmative, or pro side, should go first for a set length of time, followed by the negative, or con side, for the same length of time. Then allow each side two minutes for rebuttal. After a winner has been determined, briefly discuss the strengths and weaknesses of the arguments.

★ **4.** To help your students read, comprehend, and think critically about the information in the "Media" chapter, ask them to complete the activities on **Student Handout 29—Learning New Information.** You may want them to work on the handout individually in class or as a homework assignment or to complete the handout working in small groups.

After students have finished the handout, use the information to lead a discussion about the media. Ask students to read their answers aloud in class and urge them to expand on the information they have gleaned from the reading.

ENRICHMENT ACTIVITIES

Use the following activities to enrich your unit on the media. You may find the activities valuable for evaluation, extra credit, or as an additional assignment for the unit.

1. In a brief discussion with your students, address the subject of ethics. Remind the class that journalists face ethical quandaries every day as they sort through what they should and should not include in the news. The best of them stay true to their goal of producing fair, accurate, and relevant news stories. But the pressures of getting a good story, meeting tight deadlines, and staying one step ahead of the competition sometimes make this difficult.

Next, read the paragraph below or write it on the board.

> *Imagine you are a reporter for a big-city newspaper. An airliner has crashed. Relatives of the victims gather at a hotel. Security is tight. Information is scarce. Pressure to scoop the competition is fierce. You see a way to get an exclusive story on the grieving families. But you will have to pretend to be a family member.*

Then ask students what they would do. The following choices might help focus the discussion.

- Yes. Get the story. You are not hurting anyone. Survivors need to talk about their grief.
- No. Do not lie about your identity. Respect the relatives' need to grieve in private.

2. Remind students that these days you can get news twenty-four hours a day. When U.S. soldiers landed in Somalia in 1992, television crews were waiting for them on the beach. CNN showed live coverage of the first bombs dropped on Baghdad, Iraq, during the Persian Gulf War. Some athletes and movie stars cannot take a step in public without photographers, reporters, and television crews following their every move. Some believe that the news media—specifically photographers—were partly to blame for the death of Princess Diana. How much news is too much?

Ask students if they can think of news stories they have seen that seemed to be "too much." Did they want to hear more? Were they turned off by the coverage? Does the public like this kind of news coverage? What motivates the reporters and their bosses?

3. Select several (as many as you need to engage everyone) current news stories; they may be local, national, or international. Then, divide the class into as many small groups as you have news stories. Assign one story to each group and have everyone gather different newspapers, watch several television news broadcasts, and review appropriate Internet coverage to find out how all these news sources cover the same story. Allow the groups several days to complete their research.

Then, ask each group to relate their findings to the rest of the class. Can they pick out coverage that was biased in any way? Was some coverage more sensationalistic than others? Can they pick out liberal or conservative views in the coverage?

It might be interesting to clip articles covering the same story from several daily newspapers and pin them to a bulletin board to show contrasting styles in news coverage over a longer period of time.

POVERTY

STUDENT OBJECTIVES

Students will:

1. Explain why various age and income groups often disagree on the role government should play in alleviating poverty.
2. Analyze the relationship between federally guaranteed welfare and finding work.
3. Identify and define key terms and programs related to poverty.

ACTIVITIES

1. Tell students that they are going to participate in a Senate hearing on domestic social problems. Some of the students will form a Senate committee, while the rest will represent a variety of interest groups expressing opinions about the following policies before the committee.

- The states will do a better job controlling welfare.
- The government should offer financial assistance to the working poor.
- The government should continue to fund public housing programs.

Divide students into the Senate committee and the following fictional special interest groups:

- National Association of Single Parents
- Union of Retired Americans
- Society of Urban Dwellers
- United States Taxpayers Association
- American Association for Minimum-Wage Earners

Allow some time for the groups to prepare their statements about the three issues. Each should decide what policies are best for its members and prepare its statement accordingly. Then, have each group appear separately before the Senate committee to present its views. After presenting its statement, each group should be questioned by members of the Senate committee. The committee should prepare questions related to the issues at hand.

After all groups have presented their views and been questioned by the committee, lead a class discussion about the hearing. Ask the class to discuss the best pro and con arguments and supporting data for each of the three issues. If they were senators, how would they vote on each issue and why? What has this simulation taught them about why the political system often has difficulty establishing and funding social programs?

TERMS AND CONCEPTS

- Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC)
- block grants
- earned-income tax credit (EITC)
- food stamps
- Great Society
- Medicaid
- Medicare
- New Deal
- Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Act of 1996
- Social Security
- workfare

2. Write the following question on the board: *What is a generalization?* Then ask students to respond to it. Explain that if there are no supporting facts, a generalization may not be correct. After a brief discussion, distribute **Student Handout 11—Supporting Generalizations with Facts.** Make sure all students understand the instructions on the handout. Allow them time to work on the task in class, or assign it as homework.

Next, review student responses to the items on the handout. Try to ensure that both sides of each argument are equally represented. While responses will vary, some possible answers include the following.

- Agree: States may be able to provide financial assistance to their poor people until the states run into financial trouble; then the federal government must be there to provide the safety net. States are not prepared to find jobs for all the people they take off welfare roles.

  Disagree: Guaranteed checks from the federal government only perpetuate poverty. When people understand that their state will help them for only a limited amount of time, they will get jobs. States know best how to administer welfare to their people.
- Agree: Tax credits help raise the wages of low-income workers, making welfare payments to them unnecessary.

  Disagree: Many of the working poor earn only enough each year to get the tax credit. Then, they quit their jobs to go on welfare.
- Agree: Despite nearly sixty years of government social programs, millions of people still live in poverty. Programs such as AFDC provided reduced benefits to the working poor, thus discouraging welfare recipients from seeking work.

  Disagree: Most AFDC recipients were single mothers who supported themselves and their children almost entirely through the welfare system. If it were not for public housing, even more people would be homeless.

3. To help your students read, comprehend, and think critically about the information in the "Poverty" chapter, ask them to complete **Student Handout 30—Learning New Information.** You may want them to work on the handout individually in class or as a homework assignment or to complete the handout working in small groups.

After students have finished the handout, use the information to lead a discussion about poverty. Ask them to read their answers aloud in class and urge them to expand on the information they have gleaned from the reading.

ENRICHMENT ACTIVITIES

Use the following activities to enrich your unit on poverty. You may find the activities valuable for evaluation, extra credit, or as an additional assignment for the unit.

1. Have students call or visit their local welfare or state employment office to find out basic information on the qualifications and procedures for applying for an entitlement program. Programs to consider for this project include the following:

- state and local welfare benefits
- food stamps
- Medicaid
- Medicare
- public housing
- Supplemental Security Income (SSI)

If possible, students should get an application form and interview a welfare or employment office worker about the application process. How would they feel if they were really applying for this program? Do they think benefits should be easier or harder to get? What was their general impression of the process?

2. Ask students to conduct an informal poll posing one of the following questions to a cross section of members of the community.

- What is your opinion of the government giving an income tax credit to a worker whose family income falls below the poverty level?
- What is your opinion of turning control of welfare over to the states?

Care should be taken to include several different age groups in the poll, ranging from teenagers to retired people. Have students write up the results of the poll, creating a table or graph to better illustrate their findings. Some direct quotes from survey participants should be included.

3. Have students research the problems associated with welfare and welfare reform and then draw up their own welfare reform proposal. Ask students to evaluate the strengths and weaknesses of the welfare reform law of 1996 and compare it with their own proposals.

WOMEN AND MINORITIES

STUDENT OBJECTIVES

Students will:

1. Define affirmative action.
2. Discuss discrimination and steps taken to combat it.
3. Analyze photographs.
4. Examine the vocabulary of the chapter.

ACTIVITIES

1. Begin by asking students to define "affirmative action." Relate affirmative action to the American belief in equality of opportunity. Discuss with students whether racial and ethnic groups and women who have been victims of discrimination should be compensated in some way by the government.

To focus the discussion, distribute **Student Handout 12—Discrimination Cases.** Allow enough time for your students to consider each situation. Then, discuss the issues raised in the handout. The following questions may help you lead the discussion.

- If you support affirmative action for an African American or Mexican American in any of the cases, would you also support it for a white American whose family is dysfunctional and has a low income and who attended a bad school?
- Do minority Americans who do not come from low-income families or who did not go to bad schools have a moral claim against society because their ancestors were oppressed?

Encourage debate on each case and remind students that emotion alone is not an adequate basis for argument. What conclusion can students draw from this discussion? Why is this an emotional issue? Relate the discussion in class to a debate Congress may have on affirmative action, quotas, and civil rights.

2. Begin by having students discuss their own experiences. Have they been victims of discrimination? If so, in what ways? How did they react to their experiences? Do they think they have ever knowingly discriminated against someone else? What caused them to do so? Do students have different expectations for males and females? Do students feel discomfort when they are around a disabled person? Do they feel disabled students should be mainstreamed?

Follow this opening discussion by telling students to talk to their parents and grandparents or others in the community about what they remember about discrimination, the civil rights movement, and how women's roles have changed in their lifetimes. They should jot down notes as they talk to members of their family

TERMS AND CONCEPTS

- affirmative action
- Americans with Disabilities Act
- *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas*
- Civil Rights Act of 1964
- Defense of Marriage Act
- domestic partners
- Equal Pay Act
- hate crimes
- "Jim Crow" laws
- *Plessy v. Ferguson*
- poll tax
- Proposition 209
- Voting Rights Act of 1965

and community, and then share this informal oral history with the class the next day. How do the stories compare?

Finally, divide the class into discussion groups of four or five for the purpose of defining prejudice and discrimination, talking about personal attitudes, and developing a short report on how prejudice comes about and what can or should be done to prevent it. Each group (or you) should choose a group leader to keep the discussion moving and orderly and to write the final report. As group discussions proceed, students should jot down notes to help them and their group leader prepare the paper. The reports should define prejudice and tell what kinds of discrimination exist today. They should tell who the likely victims of discrimination are and will be and speculate on what causes discrimination. Finally, the reports should offer solutions to discrimination and prejudice in the United States. After groups have had sufficient time, ask each group leader to report on his or her group's discussion and be prepared to answer questions from the rest of the class.

★ **3.** To help your students read, comprehend, and think critically about the information in the "Women and Minorities" chapter, ask them to complete the activities on **Student Handout 31—Learning New Information.** You may want them to work on the handout individually in class or as a homework assignment or to complete the handout working in small groups.

After students have finished the handout, use the information to lead a discussion about women and minorities. Ask students to read their answers aloud in class and urge them to expand on the information they have gleaned from the reading.

ENRICHMENT ACTIVITIES

Use the following activities to enrich your unit on women and minorities. You may find the activities valuable for evaluation, extra credit, or as an additional assignment for the unit.

1. Select a group of four or five students to engage in a panel discussion on how changing social, economic, and political conditions require changing interpretations of the Constitution. They will need to plan their discussion and do some research on their topic. See the suggestions for conducting a panel discussion on page 16 in "Instructional Strategies" in this guide.

2. Invite speakers to discuss both sides of the same-sex marriage issue. Because this is a sensitive and controversial topic, make sure your school administration is aware of your plans. Review student questions ahead of time so there are no surprise questions for the speakers.

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DEFENSE

STUDENT OBJECTIVES

Students will:

1. Define national security.
2. Compare and contrast views on national security issues.
3. Evaluate the current defense policies of the United States.
4. Draw conclusions about reading sections in *Current Issues*.
5. Analyze a chart.

TERMS AND CONCEPTS

- multinational peacekeeping
- national security
- NATO
- NATO partnerships
- nuclear deterrence
- peace engagement
- Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI)
- War Powers Act

ACTIVITIES

1. Begin by asking students to pretend that they are responsible for the defense of a nation. Without giving them any more information, ask them what strategies they would use to defend their country. Categorize student responses and write them on the board. Likely categories include:

- build up arms—prepare for war
- use offensive tactics—"get them before they get us"
- negotiate treaties
- disarm—become neutral and nonthreatening
- develop defense fortifications

Point out that defending a nation is only one aspect of national security. Emphasize that national security is a complex concept with many facets.

Next, distribute **Student Handout 13—Defense Survey.** Allow students a few minutes to complete the questionnaire. When everyone is finished, encourage students to share their responses. This activity should get students to think about national security issues. The success of the activity depends very much on the debriefing. Try to bring out the following points and ask these questions.

- Military strength does not ensure success. (United States in Vietnam, Soviet Union in Afghanistan)
- The national security interests of oil-producing nations may be at odds with the interests of the United States.
- Should U.S. troops get involved in UN peacekeeping missions if U.S. national interest is not an issue? Should Americans care about peace in a place like Bosnia?
- If economic warfare is a greater threat to national security, how can the United States best combat this threat? Which country today poses the biggest economic threat to American security?
- Should some of the financial resources of the United States be shifted from the military budget to support democratic movements around the world? Should domestic programs be cut to provide increased funds for foreign aid?

Conclude by asking students to reevaluate their ideas about national security. Have any of them changed their strategies as a result of this activity? They should recognize that national security means protection of vital economic and political interests as well as defense of the nation's borders.

2. Divide the class into five groups. Assign one of the following topics to each group:

- increasing defense spending
- reducing the U.S. troop presence in western Europe, Japan, and South Korea
- using the U.S. military as peacekeepers in troubled areas
- developing computer and satellite technology for defense
- reducing the U.S. nuclear arsenal

Each group's task is to prepare brief (three- to five-minute) arguments both for and against each issue. Have them present these arguments to the class. Tell the class they will secretly vote on each issue at the end of each group's presentation. No class discussion will be allowed until all the ballots are in, because judgments and criticisms could affect student voting.

Students will vote with paper ballots. The votes will be tallied and listed on the board, so students can see how their class voted on the issues without peer pressure.

You may need to help the groups prepare their oral arguments to ensure a balance of views for each side. Once the votes are tallied, have students discuss the results on each issue. Do any of the results surprise them? Do they think results would be different if the voting had not been confidential? Why or why not?

★ **3.** To help your students read, comprehend, and think critically about the information in the "Defense" chapter, ask them to complete the activities on **Student Handout 32—Learning New Information.** You may want them to work on the handout individually in class or as a homework assignment or to complete the handout working in small groups.

After students have finished the handout, use the information to lead a discussion about U.S. defense policies. Ask students to read their answers aloud in class and urge them to expand on the information they have gleaned from the reading.

ENRICHMENT ACTIVITIES

Use the following activities to enrich your unit on defense. You may find the activities valuable for evaluation, extra credit, or as an additional assignment for the unit.

1. Students should take on the role of a presidential candidate. Have them prepare a campaign speech in which they address three defense-related issues:

- adopting a new defense strategy
- using U.S. troops in peacekeeping missions
- investing more money in high-tech versions of traditional weapons

Have students write rough drafts of their speeches and hand them in. Select the best three or four for oral presentation.

2. Have students interview at least five friends (preferably from outside class) to learn their opinions about serving in the military. They might ask for their friends' views on mandatory service, voluntary service, college scholarships, retirement benefits, women in combat, and homosexuals in the military. Ask your students to write a news article titled "Students Offer Opinions About the Military," based on what they found out in their interviews and in their readings in *Current Issues* and other sources. The goal is to incorporate fact and opinion in one article. The most thorough and well-written articles can be submitted to the school or community newspaper.

DEMOCRACY AND HUMAN RIGHTS

STUDENT OBJECTIVES

Students will:

1. Define and discuss democracy.
2. Define human rights and how Americans gained those rights.
3. Examine the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights and compare it with the U.S. Bill of Rights.
4. Learn which countries are free and which are not free by studying a map.

TERMS AND CONCEPTS

- decolonization
- democratization
- free elections
- free-market economy
- genocide
- human rights
- national interest
- self-determination
- UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights
- war crimes

ACTIVITIES

1. Write *democracy* on the board. Then ask students to call out basic features common to democratic nations. List their responses on the board. (The list will probably include items such as free elections, majority rule, multiple political parties, government based on a constitution, and so forth.) After a complete list has been compiled, briefly discuss the features of democracy. Emphasize the difficulties even Americans have in making democracy work, despite more than 200 years of experience. Do students think Americans are apathetic about their democracy? Why or why not? Why are voter turnouts in U.S. elections so low? Do students think democracy is an efficient form of government, able to meet the needs of the people while providing the nation with peace and security? Ask them to speculate on the future of such new democracies as Russia, Haiti, and South Africa. What should the United States do to promote the success of new democracies around the world?

2. Begin by explaining to students that in the United States, concern for human rights is one of the foundations of the American democracy. Write the following quotation from the Declaration of Independence on the board.

> *We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are . . . endowed by the Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.*

Then, lead a discussion about the quotation, asking students who wrote it and where it came from. What did Jefferson mean by "unalienable rights"? What rights do American have? Has the United States as a nation upheld Jefferson's rights?

Next, explain to the class that in December 1948, the newly established United Nations adopted its Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Distribute **Student**

Handout 14—United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights. After students have had time to read the declaration and complete the exercises and questions at the end of the handout, begin a discussion based on their responses. When discussing the declaration, point out that applying the ideals listed in the document is difficult.

3. To help your students read, comprehend, and think critically about the information in the "Democracy and Human Rights" chapter, ask them to complete the activities on **Student Handout 33—Learning New Information.** You may want them to work on the handout individually in class or as a homework assignment or to complete the handout working in small groups.

After students have finished the handout, use the information to lead a discussion about democracy and human rights. Ask students to read their answers aloud in class and urge them to expand on the information they have gleaned from the reading.

ENRICHMENT ACTIVITIES

Use the following activities to enrich your unit on democracy and human rights. You may find the activities valuable for evaluation, extra credit, or as an additional assignment for the unit.

1. Divide a bulletin board into five sections and place the name of each of the following countries above one of the sections: China, Haiti, Indonesia, Russia, Serbia. Then, divide the class into five groups, with each group being responsible for one of the countries. Students should scan newspapers and newsmagazines each day looking for stories relating to democracy and human rights in their group's country. Then, after either clipping those stories or photocopying them, they should pin them in the appropriate column on the board. Spend a few minutes each day or week discussing the articles that are going up and why they are important. Discuss how certain stories may affect the United States and the people who live here.

2. Ask students to write a one-page reaction to the following quotation by Martin Luther King, Jr.

- Injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere.

Ask for volunteers to read their papers in class.

THE GLOBAL ENVIRONMENT

STUDENT OBJECTIVES

Students will:

1. Identify major types of pollution and their respective sources and effects.
2. Examine costs and benefits of certain international environmental actions.
3. Discuss steps they can take to protect the environment.
4. Explain how environmental issues are examples of interdependence and individual civic responsibility.
5. Identify consequences of environmental dangers.

TERMS AND CONCEPTS

- acid rain
- biological diversity
- CFCs
- Earth Summit
- global warming
- greenhouse effect
- Kyoto Protocol
- Montreal Protocol
- nuclear waste
- ozone layer
- water subsidies

ACTIVITIES

1. To introduce the unit, have students look for examples of pollution in their school. Answers might range from graffiti on bathroom walls to litter around the school building. Write their answers on the board and ask students to place items on the list in categories (visual, noise, air, and so forth).

Then ask students to determine the causes of the various types of pollution listed. Causes may include careless students or teachers, cars in the parking lot, improper disposal of trash, and others. Which of the pollutants do they find most offensive? Why? What can be done to stop the polluting?

Next ask students to think about their community. What types of pollution identified on their school list also apply to the community? Are the causes and sources the same? What additional pollutants exist in the community? What are their causes? Which community pollutants concern them most? Is anything being done about pollution levels in the community? If not, why not?

Now, students should think about the larger region in which their community is located. Are there other types of pollution that affect their region that have not already been mentioned? What are their causes? Is anything being done about them? If not, why not? What do environmentalists mean when they tell people to "think globally, act locally"?

Finally, ask students to draw tentative conclusions from the discussion. What more would they like to know? Why is the environment an important issue? If students are not familiar with the meanings of the words in the "Terms and Concepts" list, review the meanings with them.

2. Tell students they are going to examine costs and benefits of government actions that will clearly have an effect on the world's environment. First, divide the class into three equal-sized groups and place each group in different parts of the room. Then, divide each group into proponents and opponents of the action they are considering.

Distribute a copy of **Student Handout 15—Costs and Benefits of Protecting the World's Environment** to each student. After group topics have been chosen, give them time to complete the handout. They should list the costs and benefits for both sides in their issue and then prepare an argument to present to the rest of the class as to why they think their side is right and the other side is wrong.

After group work is finished, proceed with each topic. Call one representative from each side to the front of the room and ask each person to tell the class his or her group's best arguments for its position. After each student has finished, allow the class a few minutes to ask questions. Then, with a show of hands, ask the class if they support the government action that was taken or if they oppose it. Conclude by pointing out the difficulties of solving environmental problems, especially when they involve many nations and billions of people.

3. Have the class select the local environmental issue they think is most pressing. Students should gather information on this problem. Once they understand the basic problem, they should develop a list of questions they want to ask local politicians, business representatives, and environmentalists about the issue. Then ask students to choose one or more of the following activities.

- Have students write or call offices of their U.S. and state senators and representatives to find out where these legislators stand on the matter and what they propose as a solution. Legislators will likely make their opinions known over the phone or in follow-up letters.
- If the issue they chose is affected by local businesses, have students contact one or two of the businesses and ask the company or companies to send representatives to talk to the class.
- Have students find out which local environmental groups are active in their area. Is there a branch of the Sierra Club, National Audubon Society, Greenpeace, Defenders of Wildlife, or Friends of the Earth nearby? Students should contact one of the environmental groups and invite a representative to the class to discuss the local issue. Students should prepare questions for the speakers, asking what their role is in the issue, what they suggest should be done, and what has been done.
- Ask interested students to write a letter to the editor of their local or school newspaper explaining how this problem affects the community, the state, the nation, and the world.

Once students have concluded their research and interviews, have them create a display that is based on the facts they have gathered and the actions they think should be taken.

★**4.** To help your students read, comprehend, and think critically about the information in the "Global Environment" chapter, ask them to complete the activities on **Student Handout 34—Learning New Information.** You may want them to work on the handout individually in class or as a homework assignment or to complete the handout working in small groups.

After students have finished the handout, use the information to lead a discussion about the environment. Ask students to read their answers aloud in class and urge them to expand on the information they have gleaned from the reading.

ENRICHMENT ACTIVITIES

Use the following activities to enrich your unit on the global environment. You may find the activities valuable for evaluation, extra credit, or as an additional assignment for the unit.

1. Ask students to identify significant environmental problems facing the United States today. Once the list is on the board, have the class rank the problems. Then, ask each student to take the list—with the order of issues scrambled—and give it to five other people of different age groups. They should ask each person to rank the list of problems.

Back in class, collect all the lists, divide them into age groups, and try to determine if there is a pattern to how each age group ranked the problems. Put the resulting lists on the board or on large sheets of paper and hang them on the wall. Did the age groups perceive the significance of environmental concerns differently? Have students speculate as to why this might be. How might age and experience affect one's perceptions? Did any of the rankings surprise the class? How might they account for this unexpected ranking? Do any of the rankings indicate lack of information about the issues? Why might this be?

2. Begin by telling the class that acid rain falling on Canada is harming that nation's lakes and streams, forests, farmland, and structures. Most experts have concluded that much of the air pollution contributing to Canada's acid rain is being generated by factories, power plants, and automobiles in the United States. Then, as an assignment, have each student pretend he or she is an official of the Canadian government and has been asked by the prime minister to write a letter of protest to the U.S. government regarding this situation. Letters should lay out the problem, explain the Canadian government's position, and be specific about what Canada's government wants the United States to do. After letters have been written, ask several students to read theirs in class. Conclude by asking the students what they think the United States should do about the acid rain falling not only on Canada but also on the northeastern part of the United States.

INTERNATIONAL TRADE

STUDENT OBJECTIVES

Students will:

1. Compare and contrast protectionism and free trade.
2. Evaluate U.S. policy options to reduce the trade deficit by negotiating trade agreements, erecting trade barriers, and increasing productivity.
3. Analyze a chart and a cartoon.
4. Match dollar amounts and dates to information learned from reading the text.

TERMS AND CONCEPTS

- comparative advantage
- fast track
- floating exchange rate
- free trade
- Free Trade Area of the Americas
- General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT)
- intellectual property
- managed trade
- most favored nation (MFN)
- North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA)
- protectionism
- quotas
- tariffs
- Trade Act of 1988
- trade deficit
- World Trade Organization (WTO)

ACTIVITIES

1. Use this activity to discuss costs and benefits of free trade and protectionism. Begin by pointing out to the class that: (1) the way in which a nation views tariffs may depend on how industrialized the nation already is; (2) some nations have used protective trade barriers to help them industrialize; and (3) a highly industrialized country may promote free trade knowing that less developed nations cannot compete.

Create two columns on the board under the heads "Free Trade" and "Protectionism." Then, in a class discussion, ask your students to determine the effects of these two policies for each of the following people (write responses on the board):

- a U.S. manufacturer dependent on export sales
- a U.S. manufacturer receiving stiff competition from imported goods
- consumers living in a highly industrialized nation
- an unemployed American worker
- the owner of a technologically new industry with limited financial resources

Conclude by pointing out that because of the economic diversity of the United States, neither a completely free-trade nor a protectionist policy will satisfy all sectors of the nation. When the complexities of international affairs are added, easy solutions are invariably inadequate.

2. Inform students that they have just been appointed to the president's Council of Economic Advisers. The president has warned them that the continuing high trade deficit threatens the economic well-being of the nation. Jobs are being lost, tax revenues are decreasing, and the economy is being threatened. Students should find the best solution to the trade deficit. The president has identified three possible routes for addressing the problem. He wants his advisers to investigate each of the three; however, he does not want them to act as an advocate for any particular one. Rather, they are to investigate the costs and benefits associated with implementing each approach and report their findings to the president and the rest of the class.

Distribute **Student Handout 16—Fact-Finding Sheet.** Then, divide the class into three groups, each investigating one of the following approaches the federal government might take:

- negotiating new trade agreements with other nations whereby they would promise to open up their markets to more U.S. goods and services
- instituting protectionist measures to keep cheaper foreign goods out of the United States
- helping U.S. industries increase productivity by giving them money for research and development

Each group should divide in half, with one half looking for the strengths of the approach and the other half looking for its weaknesses. Remind students that the purpose is not to convince other group members that their position is the right one, but simply to gather as much information as possible to present to the group. Urge them to use the student handout to help them complete their tasks. After groups have completed their research, each should come up with specific policies based on their findings. Each group should then take its turn presenting its findings and recommendations to the entire class. They should recommend specific policies—for example, how the government will help industry increase its productivity—and evaluate the usefulness of each policy.

After the three groups have shared their findings with the class, lead a class discussion on the value of each of the approaches. Then, with a show of hands, poll the class on which approach they think will work best to reduce the trade deficit.

Conclude by reviewing the strengths and weaknesses of students' suggestions. What were the most important lessons of this unit? Why is international trade a difficult issue to resolve?

3. To help your students read, comprehend, and think critically about the information in the "International Trade" chapter, ask them to complete the activities on **Student Handout 35—Learning New Information.** You may want them to work on the handout individually in class or as a homework assignment or complete the handout working in small groups.

After students have finished the handout, use the information to lead a discussion about international trade. Ask students to read their answers in class and urge them to expand on the information they have gleaned from the reading.

ENRICHMENT ACTIVITIES

Use the following activities to enrich your unit on international trade. You may find the activities valuable for evaluation, extra credit, or as an additional assignment for the unit.

1. The president is the individual most able to influence American trade policy. Have students choose one of the following activities.

- Abraham Lincoln supposedly said: "I don't know much about the tariff. But I do know that when I buy a coat from England, I have the coat and England has the money. But when I buy a coat in America, I have the coat and America has the money." Write a hypothetical letter to Lincoln explaining the virtues of free trade and the dangers of protectionism.
- Recent presidents have been strong supporters of free trade. Have students write a letter to the president stating why they think free trade is good or bad for American industry and if he should continue or change his present trade policy. Students may wish to send their letters to the president.

2. Students should identify local residents whose livelihood is affected by international trade, and invite several to speak to their class. This group could include a factory owner, a retailer, a banker, a factory worker, a farmer, and so forth. Ask students to prepare questions for the speakers in advance. You should make clear to speakers exactly what you want them to talk about; show them students' questions before they speak. Tell your speakers the topics that you have been discussing in class so they stay focused on issues with which students are familiar. Urge speakers to ask questions of students, getting them to think about all sides of a particular issue. If you have a speaker who strongly favors free trade, you should seek another speaker who believes in protectionism. Students should look for obvious differences of opinion between business owners and workers regarding protectionism or free trade.

3. U.S. relations with China have been strained in recent years by a number of issues, including: (1) the large U.S. trade deficit with China; (2) human rights practices in China; and (3) accusations by American companies about Chinese manufacturers pirating U.S. intellectual property.

Ask students to gather newspaper and magazine articles regarding these issues. Discuss the articles as they come in and then pin them to a bulletin board. After you think your class has gained sufficient knowledge about the U.S.-China trade situation, organize a debate on the following statement.

- The United States should not extend MFN trade status to China until the Chinese government takes steps to address U.S. concerns about human rights and piracy of intellectual property.

See the section titled "Debate" on page 15 of the "Introduction" to this guide to learn one way to proceed with your activity.

WEAPONS PROLIFERATION

STUDENT OBJECTIVES

Students will:

1. Analyze the dangers posed by the proliferation of weapons.
2. Evaluate U.S. policy toward sales of nuclear materials and technology.
3. Express an opinion based on factual and personal information.
4. Interpret a political cartoon and read a bar graph.

TERMS AND CONCEPTS

- Baruch Plan
- Chemical Weapons Convention
- Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty
- conventional weapons
- International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA)
- nuclear club
- nuclear technology
- Oslo Conference
- UN Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty
- START II

ACTIVITIES

1. Tell students that you are going to read several statements relating to weapons proliferation and nuclear war. After each statement is read, students will move about the room on a continuum that ranges from "strongly agree" to "strongly disagree." Students who strongly agree with the statement should line up on the far left side of the room. Students who strongly disagree should line up on the far right side of the room. Students who do not have a strong opinion either way should line up in the middle of the room.

After directions are given, read one of the opinion statements and allow time for students to move to a point on the continuum. When the three lines have stabilized, ask several students from each line to explain their positions. Allow students to interact and ask questions of each other, but remind them to respect differing opinions and that this is a discussion, not a debate. After discussing each statement, read the fact statement that follows each opinion statement. Then ask students if they now want to move to another position on the continuum. Move on to the next statement and repeat the process.

Statements:

- Nuclear proliferation is a serious threat to world peace.

  Fact: Today at least seven countries have nuclear weapons; ten or more other countries are suspected of having the capability of making nuclear weapons now or in the near future.
- It is possible for countries such as the United States to sell nuclear technology to other countries without the threat of an increase in nuclear weapons worldwide.

  Fact: The United Nations created the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) to ensure that members do not use nuclear technology to make weapons.
- Treaties are a good way to control the testing, manufacture, and acquisition of nuclear weapons.

  Fact: As many as eight international treaties have been written since 1959. India and Pakistan are the only nations outside the "nuclear club" that have exploded atomic devices since 1964.

- The United States should set an example for the world by completely stopping sales of conventional weapons.

  Fact: Many nations besides the United States sell conventional weapons. Sellers depend a great deal on the profits such sales bring.

- Enemy nations who have nuclear weapons would hesitate to use them for fear of nuclear retaliation.

  Fact: The Soviet Union and the United States refrained from military conflict for more than forty years. During the Persian Gulf War, the allied powers and Iraq (which is suspected of having nuclear weapon capabilities) refrained from using nuclear weapons.

2. To help your students read, comprehend, and think critically about the information in the "Weapons Proliferation" chapter, have them complete **Student Handout 36—Learning New Information.** You may want them to complete it individually in class or as a homework assignment or to complete the handout working in small groups.

After students have finished the handout, use the information to lead a discussion about weapons proliferation. Ask students to read their answers aloud in class and urge them to expand on the information they have gleaned from the reading.

ENRICHMENT ACTIVITIES

Use the following activities to enrich your unit on weapons proliferation. You may find the activities valuable for evaluation, extra credit, or as an additional assignment for the unit.

1. Two regions of the world, Latin America and the South Pacific, as well as some individual cities around the world, have established "nuclear-free zones." Within these zones, testing, manufacturing, and acquiring nuclear weapons are banned, and nations possessing nuclear weapons have agreed not to bring such weapons into the zones.

Ask students to call local governments to find out if their community or a nearby community is considered a nuclear-free zone. If so, obtain a copy of the statement(s) declaring the community as nuclear-free. If not, divide the class into groups of four or five to write a nuclear-free class statement for your school or community.

Ask groups to read their statements and discuss them. Do all students agree with such statements? What arguments can they give opposing the declaration of nuclear-free zones?

2. Organize one or more debates on the following statements.

- The United States should support a ban on land mines.
- The United States should limit its sales of conventional weapons.
- The United States should stop selling nuclear materials and technology.

Before beginning the debates, allow students adequate time to research their positions and prepare their arguments. The affirmative side should speak first, followed by the negative side. Both sides should be given the same amount of time. Allow each side to then present a short rebuttal. After each debate has been completed, ask the remainder of the class which side they think "won." Discuss the strong and weak points of each argument.

WORLD POVERTY AND FOREIGN AID

STUDENT OBJECTIVES

Students will:

1. Identify characteristics of developing nations.
2. Explain the relationship between foreign aid and American interests.
3. Evaluate U.S. policy options regarding recipients of and kinds of foreign aid.
4. Analyze charts and photos.

TERMS AND CONCEPTS

- bilateral aid
- family planning
- humanitarian assistance
- less developed countries
- multilateral aid
- nongovernmental organizations (NGOs)
- North-South conflict
- national interest
- security assistance
- U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID)
- World Food Summit

ACTIVITIES

1. Use a large world map to point out to students that most of the world's most impoverished nations are south of the Tropic of Cancer. Briefly discuss the terms "North" and "South." Ask why Americans and the U.S. government should have any interest in developing nations. In addition to exploring humanitarian concerns, discuss national security and economic security as factors in U.S. foreign aid politics. Students should consider how terrorism might become a more serious problem as developing countries struggle to develop. What could be the effect of increased terrorism on their development? Ask students to read the "World Poverty and Foreign Aid" chapter in *Current Issues* and jot down questions they would like to have answered while studying this unit. Have students share their questions with the class to determine common concerns.

2. Tell students that they are going to use a variety of resources to examine U.S. foreign aid policies and economic development in less developed countries and then write a position statement based on their research. First, divide the class in half. One half of the class will represent U.S. government and military officials. The other half will represent government officials from developing nations such as Bangladesh, Chad, Egypt, Haiti, and Peru. Divide each half into three subgroups and assign each subgroup one of the following policy statements.

- The United States should eliminate foreign aid.
- The United States should abolish the U.S. Agency for International Development and privatize foreign aid.
- The United States should promote family planning in less developed countries to slow population growth.

Distribute and urge everyone to complete **Student Handout 17—Cost/Benefit Chart** as they complete their assignments. Give students sufficient time to research their topics and prepare position statements with supporting evidence. Each group should be prepared to state its position and answer questions from the rest of the class.

The group representing U.S. officials should consider the following questions as it analyzes its information and develops its policy statement.

- What are the costs and benefits of this policy?
- How will U.S. citizens view this policy?
- What conditions should the United States impose for nations receiving aid?
- Should foreign aid decisions be based on the national interest of the United States or of the whole world?
- After deciding the U.S. position, what are the strongest pieces of evidence to support it?

Representatives of developing countries should consider the following questions as they analyze their policy statement.

- Is it reasonable to expect that developed countries with their own poverty problems should expend their resources to help less developed countries?
- What arguments can developing nations offer to counter U.S. policy decisions that may not be in their best interest?
- How would developing nations respond to criticisms that some of the problems they face are a result of a social structure that allows a few people to control most of the wealth, and that aid programs simply help those who do not need it?
- Since it is unlikely that U.S. aid will be distributed evenly, what criteria do developing nations suggest for determining who receives it?

After each group has presented and supported its position and responded to questions, conduct a general class discussion. How do students personally feel about the issues? Is there any consensus? Have any changed their minds about foreign aid concerns since the introductory activity?

3. To help your students read, comprehend, and think critically about the information in the "World Poverty and Foreign Aid" chapter, ask them to complete the activities on **Student Handout 37—Learning New Information.** You may want them to work on the handout individually in class or as a homework assignment or to complete the handout working in small groups.

After students have finished the handout, use the information to lead a discussion about world poverty and U.S. foreign aid. Ask students to read their answers in class and urge them to expand on the information they have gleaned from the reading.

ENRICHMENT ACTIVITIES

Use the following activities to enrich your unit on world poverty and foreign aid. You may find the activities valuable for evaluation, extra credit, or as an additional assignment for the unit.

1. Have students investigate conditions (geographic, economic, demographic, political, cultural) that have inhibited the development of the poorest of the world's nations. They should look at countries such as Bangladesh, Burundi, Ethiopia, Haiti, Nepal, and Sudan, and then prepare an essay pointing out the conditions and recommending what type of foreign aid programs they think would best help these nations. They should conclude by speculating on how likely it is that the nation they investigated will receive such aid.

2. Divide students into groups of four or five. This activity should be done in two parts, possibly over two days. The purpose is to encourage students to make some decisions about U.S. foreign aid.

Have students use a world map, *Current Issues*, newspapers, and newsmagazines to compile a list of nations that they think should receive foreign aid from the United States. Particular attention should be paid to countries in Africa, Latin America, Southern Asia, the Middle East, and eastern Europe, including the former Soviet republics.

Once each group agrees on its list, ask students to place an "N" before those countries where foreign aid will be based on need, a "P" where it will be based on politics, or an "NP" if both apply.

Then tell groups that they have a total of 100 points to assign as U.S. foreign aid money. Have them decide how many points should be spent for each country on their list. They should use all 100 points. When groups have finished, bring the whole class together and have each group share its choices with the class. Write the names of all the nations selected on the board and tally and average the points the groups spent on each country. In this way, arrive at a class ranking for foreign aid recommendations. Compare the students' list to actual U.S. foreign aid expenditures, which are detailed on the chart on page 254 in the standard edition of *Current Issues* and page 261 in the basic edition.

EAST ASIA

STUDENT OBJECTIVES

Students will:

1. Discuss reasons for and possible solutions to the U.S.-Japan trade imbalance.
2. Evaluate the important role Japan plays in the U.S. economy.
3. Debate U.S. policies toward Japan, China, and Taiwan.
4. Express opinions about U.S.-China relations.

TERMS AND CONCEPTS

- demilitarized zone
- East Asian miracle
- human rights
- most favored nation (MFN) trade status
- "one China"
- Tiananmen Square
- trade deficit

ACTIVITIES

1. Write *United States* and *Japan* on the board. Turning first to the Japan column, ask students to call out brand names of Japanese products that Americans commonly buy. Write their responses on the board. They will probably have little trouble coming up with such names as Toyota, Nissan, Honda, and Sony. Then, focusing on the United States column, ask them to call out brand names of American products they think are commonly sold in Japan. It will soon become evident that coming up with second list is more difficult. You might want to have everyone turn to the chart on page 265 in the standard edition of *Current Issues* and page 272 in the basic edition, "U.S.-Japan Trade." Point out that while the United States did export $65.7 billion worth of goods and services to Japan in 1997, Japan mainly bought raw materials such as lumber, foodstuffs, and scrap metals. However, there are U.S. manufacturers, such as Boeing and Motorola, that successfully sell their products in Japan. Ask students what they think causes the trade imbalance between Japan and the United States. Are the Japanese being unfair? Is the trade imbalance a problem? Can the president or Congress do anything about reducing the trade deficit with Japan? Can the American people do anything about it?

2. Divide your class into three groups and tell them that each group is going to debate one of the following issues.

- The United States should withdraw its troops from Japan.
- The United States should recognize Taiwan.
- The United States should lift economic sanctions against North Korea.

Each group should be divided into an affirmative team and a negative team. Debaters should use information in the "East Asia" chapter of *Current Issues* as well as outside sources to prepare their arguments.

When all research has been completed, begin the debates. The affirmative side should go first for five to ten minutes, followed by the negative side for five to ten minutes. Each side will then have a short period of time for rebuttal. If you find that too many students are not going to have a chance to speak, you may want several to serve as moderators, timekeepers, and judges.

After each debate, briefly discuss the topic with the whole class and ask students which side they thought was the "winner."

3. To help your students read, comprehend, and think critically about the information in the "East Asia" chapter, ask them to complete the activities on **Student Handout 38—Learning New Information.** You may want them to work on the handout individually in class or as a homework assignment or to complete the handout working in small groups.

After students have finished the handout, use the information to lead a discussion about East Asia. Ask students to read their answers aloud in class and urge them to expand on the information they have gleaned from the reading.

ENRICHMENT ACTIVITIES

Use the following activities to enrich your unit on East Asia. You may find the activities valuable for evaluation, extra credit, or as an additional assignment for the unit.

1. Have students research which Asian companies are operating in your state. A list of foreign-owned firms can be obtained from the regional office of the U.S. Department of Commerce or your state's commerce or economic development office. The information gathered by students should include the cities in which these companies are located, the products they make, and the number of workers they employ. Ask the class to evaluate the economic effect of these businesses on the state or community.

2. Ask students to write a case study about a particular Japanese-owned company located in your community or state. The case study should include specifics regarding why the company decided to locate where it did. What problems did the community face when the company decided to locate there? How has the community benefited? How has the company benefited?

3. Write the names of the following Asian nations on the board: *Japan, China, South Korea, North Korea, Taiwan, Indonesia,* and *Thailand.* Also list China's new province of *Hong Kong.* Then, ask students to study the list and write an answer to the following question.

- If you lived in East Asia, in which of these places would you want to live? Why?

Ask for volunteers to read their answers aloud. Discuss the advantages and disadvantages of the countries they picked. Search for as many different responses as possible.

EUROPE AND RUSSIA

STUDENT OBJECTIVES

Students will:

1. Choose a U.S. foreign policy response to a European event and defend their choice.
2. Examine the pros and cons of keeping U.S. peacekeeping troops in Bosnia.
3. Explain U.S.-European and U.S.-Russian relations, past and present.

TERMS AND CONCEPTS

- Cold War
- Commonwealth of Independent States
- containment
- Dayton Accords
- *détente*
- economic "shock therapy"
- the euro
- European Economic Community (EC)
- European Union (EU)
- Helsinki Accords
- Kosovo
- Maastricht Treaty
- Marshall Plan
- nationalism
- North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)

ACTIVITIES

1. After students have read "Europe and Russia" in *Current Issues,* give each a copy of **Student Handout 18—U.S. Response.** Then, with your students working individually, in pairs, or in groups, allow them time to respond to the scenarios on the handout and write their reasons for choosing a particular U.S. response. Or you may want to use the handout as a homework assignment.

After everyone has finished the assignment, go through each scenario in class, asking students what they think the United States should do if such an event were to occur. Invite students or groups with differing opinions to state why they chose the response they did and rejected other responses.

2. Organize a role-playing activity in which participants will try to convince the president of the United States to either keep U.S. troops in Bosnia until peace is solidly in place or remove those troops as quickly as possible because keeping peace in Bosnia is not a vital U.S. interest. Students will play the following roles:

- **the president,** who will preside over the discussion, asking questions of both sides and making the final decision
- **the secretary of state,** who favors keeping the troops there for as long as necessary because he or she believes doing so is in the national interest of the United States
- **a member of Congress,** who thinks U.S. troops should leave Bosnia as soon as possible and claims to have the support of a majority in Congress; the member does not belong to the same party as the president
- **the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff,** who will go along with the president's decision but worries about the safety of U.S. troops in Bosnia if they must remain there for several years
- **the ambassador to the United States from Greece,** who believes U.S. troops are necessary to bring peace to the region; the ambassador, whose nation is a member of NATO, worries about religious and ethnic conflict spreading in Europe, perhaps to his or her country

After students have been assigned their roles, give them time to prepare their arguments. Each should be able to state his or her case in two minutes. The president should give each participant a chance to speak and may ask questions of any of the participants. After the president has heard from each person, he or she should weigh the testimony, state the administration's plan, and tell why he or she reached that decision. Conduct as many sections of this activity as are necessary to involve all students.

3. For this activity, ask students to work in groups of three. One person will represent the European perspective, one the Russian perspective, and one the American perspective. Give students twenty minutes to meet with their group members to discuss the following issues from all three perspectives: (1) whether peace in the former Yugoslavia is in the U.S. national interest; (2) whether the United States should send economic aid to eastern Europe; and (3) whether NATO should be expanded if doing so could harm U.S.-Russian relations.

Then, have all the "Europeans" get together in one part of the room, all the "Russians" in another part, and all the "Americans" in a third part of the room. Each side should select a secretary to record their "official" reaction to each policy issue. They should consider how each issue has affected them in the past, and how it will affect them in the future. What pleases or angers them about these policies?

Have the three secretaries present their side's reactions to each issue. Encourage other students to participate by questioning the secretary or by elaborating on what the secretary is saying. This activity should enable students to see the validity of different points of view and how this can contribute to the complexity of an issue.

4. To help your students read, comprehend, and think critically about the information in the "Europe and Russia" chapter, ask them to complete the activities on **Student Handout 39—Learning New Information.** You may want them to work on the handout individually in class or as a homework assignment or complete the handout working in small groups.

After students have finished the handout, use the information to lead a discussion about Europe and Russia. Ask students to read their answers aloud in class and urge them to expand on the information they have gleaned from the reading.

ENRICHMENT ACTIVITIES

Use the following activities to enrich your unit on Europe and Russia. You may find the activities valuable for evaluation, extra credit, or as an additional assignment for the unit.

1. Organize classroom debates on the following statements.

- Peace in the former Yugoslavia is in the U.S. national interest.
- The United States should send economic aid to Eastern Europe.
- NATO's expansion will harm U.S.-Russian relations.

Before beginning the debates, allow students adequate time to research their positions and prepare their arguments. The affirmative side should go first, followed by the negative side. Both sides should be given the same amount of time. Allow each side to then present a short rebuttal. After each debate has been completed, ask the remainder of the class which side they think "won." Discuss the strong and weak points of each argument.

2. Ask students to research newspapers, magazines, and other sources for stories dealing with the situation in Northern Ireland. They should look for stories detailing the history of the conflict and recent attempts by various sides to end it. Urge students to look for stories about U.S. involvement in the conflict as well. After they have gathered their information, students should write a two-page synopsis about the issue and be prepared to read their reports in class. Conclude by discussing the problem and speculating on its outcome.

LATIN AMERICA

STUDENT OBJECTIVES

Students will:

1. Compare and contrast the United States and Latin America.
2. Identify ways in which cultural misunderstandings and intolerance can be resolved.
3. Debate current U.S. military, political, and economic policies in Latin America.
4. Identify Latin American leaders and define key vocabulary words.

TERMS AND CONCEPTS

- certification
- *contras*
- Cuban missile crisis
- drug cartels
- Free Trade Area of the Americas
- Helms-Burton Act
- narcoterrorism
- North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA)
- Reagan Doctrine
- trade embargo

ACTIVITIES

1. Write the names of the following Latin American countries on one end of the board (*Mexico, Cuba, Haiti,* and *Colombia*) and *the United States* on the other end. Tell students they are going to brainstorm their impressions of each country. Begin with each Latin American country listed. Ask students to call out words or short phrases that come to mind when they think about each of these countries. List their responses. Now ask the students to compare these four Latin American countries with each other. Circle the similarities among them. Then, write down words or phrases that the students say come to mind when they think of the United States. After brainstorming for five to ten minutes, lead a discussion comparing the countries of Latin America with the United States. What similarities are there? Differences? Do the Latin American countries appear to be quite different from the United States? Point out inaccurate student responses in the lists and discuss why they were mentioned. Conclude by discussing why it is important for these two regions to cooperate politically and economically.

2. Mexico and the United States share a 2,000-mile border, yet there is a great deal of misunderstanding on both sides. Alan Riding, author of *Distant Neighbors: A Portrait of the Mexicans,* has written that "probably nowhere in the world do two neighbors understand each other so little." Mexican Americans often find themselves torn, as though they have one foot in one culture and one in the other.

Distribute **Student Handout 19—A Plea for More Understanding.** Allow students time to read the essay. Then, discuss the following key issues raised by the author.

- Americans tend to stereotype Mexicans.
- Americans know little about Mexican culture.
- There are many aspects of Mexican culture that Americans might emulate.

This activity presents a good opportunity for minority students to air their opinions. Do any of them feel like the author of the article? What other difficulties do minorities have that were not mentioned?

Broaden the discussion by asking whether the three key issues raised by the author are true. Do Mexicans and Americans tend to stereotype each other? Do Mexicans and Americans know little about each other's culture? Are there any aspects of American culture that Mexicans might emulate, or vice versa? Conclude by having each student write a paragraph that begins: "The best way to resolve differences between Mexican Americans and other Americans is . . ."

3. Organize classroom debates around questions of U.S. relations in Latin America. Some possible topics are:

- The United States should lift the economic embargo against Cuba.
- A U.S.–Latin American free-trade zone should be established.
- The United States should use military means to combat the Latin American drug trade.

Depending on available time, you will have to decide how many debates to hold. If time does not allow all students to participate in a debate, you might want to assign them to be judges, timekeepers, or moderators.

Alternate pro and con speakers, give each speaker a set length of time, and allow rebuttal arguments after all speakers have presented their arguments. When each debate is finished, ask the assigned judges and/or the class to choose which side they thought was most convincing and tell why.

★ **4.** To help your students read, comprehend, and think critically about the information in the "Latin America" chapter, ask them to complete the activities on **Student Handout 40—Learning New Information.** You may want them to work on the handout individually in class or as a homework assignment or to complete the handout working in small groups.

After students have finished the handout, use the information to lead a discussion on Latin America. Ask students to read their answers aloud in class and urge them to expand on the information they have gleaned from the reading.

ENRICHMENT ACTIVITIES

Use the following activities to enrich your unit on Latin America. You may find the activities valuable for evaluation, extra credit, or as an additional assignment for the unit.

1. Have students speculate about the future of U.S.–Latin American relations. Ask them to write an essay on what they think relations will be like in 2050. Will the relationship improve or deteriorate? Will free trade expand to the entire Western Hemisphere, or will countries become more protectionist and nationalistic? Have students read their essays in class. Is the class optimistic or pessimistic about the future of U.S.–Latin American relations?

2. Two countries in the Caribbean are possessions of the United States: Puerto Rico and the U.S. Virgin Islands. Ask interested students to research the history and government of these two countries and the details of their relationship with the United States. They may then write a short report on their findings or deliver an oral presentation in front of the class.

As an extension of this activity, you might want to organize a debate about statehood or independence for Puerto Rico. This may be an especially interesting activity if you have Puerto Rican students in your class or school. See the details for organizing a debate in "Instructional Strategies" on page 15 of this teacher's guide.

THE MIDDLE EAST

STUDENT OBJECTIVES

Students will:

1. Compare and contrast proposals for peaceful resolution of the Arab-Israeli conflict.
2. Discuss U.S. foreign policy toward Iraq, using historical research.
3. Analyze maps and a cartoon.
4. Interpret a timeline.

TERMS AND CONCEPTS

- Camp David Accords
- Gaza Strip
- Golan Heights
- Hezbollah
- Holocaust
- *intifada*
- Palestinian Authority
- Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)
- Palestine Mandate
- UN Resolutions 242 and 338
- West Bank
- Zionism

ACTIVITIES

1. Tell the class that they are a group of Middle East experts employed by the U.S. Department of State. The administration has decided that the United States must keep pressure on all sides to bring peace to the region. Divide students into groups of seven with each person in the group representing one of the following interested parties: Egypt, Israel, Jordan, the PLO, Palestinians who reject PLO leadership, Syria, and the United States.

Students should use *Current Issues* and other sources to first complete **Student Handout 20—Middle East Peace Proposals.** To represent accurately the views of the various nations and interest groups, students will need time and access to a range of resources on the topic. After students have gathered sufficient information to represent their nation or interest group adequately, each group should meet to come up with a peace plan that it thinks is fair to all parties and has some hope of being accepted by the major players. Because it is unlikely that everyone will agree, the students will need to compromise and try to reduce the opposition to its plan. As part of its peace plan, each group must make recommendations for or against the following.

- The United States should support the establishment of an independent Palestinian state.
- The United States should pressure Israel to return the Golan Heights to Syria.

The UN resolutions might be a good starting point for group meetings. A careful analysis of each group's response to those resolutions may serve to lay the foundation for their peace plan. Because of the constantly changing positions of the interested parties, it is critical that students examine not only background information, but current resources as well. Suggest available resources and ask students where they think they might find them. When each group has what it believes is an acceptable plan for bringing peace to the region, it should present its plan to the rest of the class.

Conclude by discussing the problems and proposals of each group. Discuss the problems for U.S. policymakers presented by the situation in the Middle East.

2. Tell students that they are going to conduct historical research about Iraq and U.S.-Iraqi relations, and then develop a recommendation to the Clinton administration. Divide students into groups of four. Each group should divide research tasks as it develops its policy recommendation. Each student in the group should find information and prepare a briefing sheet for other group members about one of the following topics:

- the history of Iraq between World War I and 1978
- the seizure of power by Saddam Hussein and the Iran-Iraq War
- the Persian Gulf War
- Iraqi actions since the Persian Gulf War

Students can use available information from "The Middle East" in *Current Issues,* as well as from outside sources. Emphasize that their research does not have to be extensive, but that it should be sufficient to allow them to make an informed policy recommendation to the president.

After group members have completed their research and prepared their briefing sheets, groups should get together to draw up their recommendations. They may decide to lift the economic embargo against Iraq, to tighten the embargo to put more pressure on Saddam Hussein, to ask for a meeting with Saddam Hussein to negotiate an agreement, to use military force to oust Saddam Hussein, or to keep the status quo. After groups have finished, ask one member from each group to present his or her group's recommendation to the class. Urge class members to ask questions of the presenter, to find out how and why his or her group arrived at its recommendation.

3. To help your students read, comprehend, and think critically about the information in the "Middle East" chapter, ask them to complete the activities on **Student Handout 41—Learning New Information.** You may want them to work on the handout individually in class or as a homework assignment or to complete the handout working in small groups.

After students have finished the handout, use the information to lead a discussion about the Middle East. Ask students to read their answers aloud in class and urge them to expand on the information they have gleaned from the reading.

ENRICHMENT ACTIVITIES

Use the following activities to enrich your unit on the Middle East. You may find the activities valuable for evaluation, extra credit, or as an additional assignment for the unit.

1. Have students cite specific examples of how each of the following factors has contributed to a lack of peace in the Middle East:

- religion
- national identity
- revenge
- paranoia
- interference from outside nations
- racism
- oil resources
- terrorism

Ask students to select two of their examples and hypothesize ways that peace might be achieved if those factors could either be limited or used to an advantage. Does it seem realistic that peace will be achieved in the Middle East?

2. Many of the problems of the Middle East, as well as its rich culture, are derived from its diversity. Have interested students make a wall chart of Middle Eastern countries and the ethnic groups that live in them. The chart should include information on religion, language, form of government, resources, per capita income, life span, and birthrates by nationality and ethnic groups. When the chart is complete, ask students how the information they have gathered helps to explain the continuing conflict in the region.

UNIT TEST MATERIALS

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UNIT TEST

THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

True/False: Use T for true and F for false, and place your answer in the blank. Use the space below the item to correct any statements you think are false.

____ 1. The Department of Veterans Affairs is the newest Cabinet department.

____ 2. The 105th Congress was controlled by the Democratic Party.

____ 3. Democrats and Republicans generally agree on which federal programs should be expanded and which should be cut.

____ 4. One of the conflicts between the legislative and executive branches in recent years has been over how to balance the federal budget.

____ 5. Congress and President Clinton finally passed a balanced budget agreement in 1997.

____ 6. The costs of running for Congress have gone up dramatically in recent campaigns.

____ 7. Supreme Court justices are appointed by the president with the approval of the Senate and serve for life.

____ 8. President Reagan had a great effect on the present Supreme Court, having appointed three associate justices and the chief justice.

____ 9. A recent Supreme Court decision upheld the law stating that local law enforcement officials had to conduct background checks on handgun buyers.

____ 10. The legislative gridlock between the president and the 104th Congress was brought about chiefly by disagreements about health care.

Definitions: Using complete sentences, write a short definition for each of the following terms.

11. Cabinet

12. divided government

13. political action committee (PAC)

14. chief justice

15. soft money

Essay: Write a complete answer for each of the following.

16. Identify three members of the president's Cabinet and briefly describe those members' responsibilities.

17. Describe why it has been difficult for Congress to pass term limits and campaign reform legislation.

18. Explain the duties of the Supreme Court and why it is so important to the lives of the American people.

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THE FEDERAL BUDGET

True/False: Use T for true and F for false, and place your answer in the blank. Use the space below the item to correct any statements you think are false.

____ 1. A budget deficit occurs when spending exceeds revenue.

____ 2. A budget deficit can be lowered by either raising spending or lowering taxes, or a combination of both.

____ 3. The budget deficit has come down dramatically in recent years.

____ 4. The national debt is now more than $5 trillion.

____ 5. The budget deficit in fiscal year 1992 was the highest in history.

____ 6. Defense spending is the highest of the four main budget categories.

____ 7. The federal government shut down for two different periods of time in late 1995.

____ 8. An amendment to balance the budget was passed by Congress in 1997 and will be added to the Constitution as soon as the required number of states approve it.

____ 9. Under Social Security, today's employees are paying the retirement benefits for today's retirees.

____ 10. President Clinton is the first president to use the line-item veto.

Definitions: Using complete sentences, write a short definition for each of the following terms.

11. mandatory spending

12. national debt

13. discretionary spending

14. generational responsibility

15. fiscal year

Essay: Write a complete answer for each of the following.

16. Write one pro and one con argument for each of the following statements.

    a. A balanced budget amendment should be added to the Constitution.

    b. The line-item veto is unconstitutional.

    c. Social Security should be reformed.

17. Explain why most experts think that Social Security will dry up by the early twenty-first century if reforms are not made.

18. Explain why the federal government shut down in 1995 and what the president and Congress did to get it open again.

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CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS

True/False: Use T for true and F for false, and place your answer in the blank. Use the space below the item to correct any statements you think are false.

____ 1. The Bill of Rights was part of the original Constitution.

____ 2. It is the responsibility of the U.S. Supreme Court to interpret if and how the Bill of Rights and the Constitution apply to certain situations.

____ 3. Two states challenged the Handgun Control Act as unconstitutional, saying it violated the rights guaranteed by the Ninth Amendment.

____ 4. One of the most significant features of the Fourteenth Amendment is that it extends the Bill of Rights to cover state and local governments as well as the national government.

____ 5. The courts have ruled that a citizen's right to free expression is unlimited.

____ 6. The Second Amendment allows Americans to own any type of firearm.

____ 7. The Communications Decency Act, outlawing the transmission of sexually explicit materials to minors over the Internet, was found unconstitutional by the Supreme Court.

____ 8. In *Roe v. Wade,* the Supreme Court ruled that a woman has a constitutional right to an abortion.

____ 9. The Supreme Court has ruled that because the word "privacy" does not exist in the Constitution, Americans do not have such a right.

____ 10. Doctor-assisted suicide is now legal in more than forty states.

Definitions: Using complete sentences, write a short definition for each of the following terms.

11. exclusionary rule

12. federalism

13. undue burden

14. assisted suicide

15. unenumerated rights

Essay: Write a complete answer for each of the following.

16. Write one pro and one con argument for each of the following statements.

    a. Abortion should remain legal.

    b. Religious exercise should be granted greater protection.

    c. Doctor-assisted suicide should be allowed.

17. List and briefly describe three amendments that protect persons accused of a crime.

18. Discuss the relationship of the Bill of Rights to the concept of democratic rule of the majority and give examples of tension between majority rule and minority rights.

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CRIME AND DRUGS

True/False: Use T for true and F for false, and place your answer in the blank. Use the space below the item to correct any statements you think are false.

____ 1. In the first half of 1997, the violent crime rate in the United States was 5 percent lower than in 1996.

____ 2. According to opinion polls, crime is one of the nation's top concerns.

____ 3. Despite the drop in overall violent crime in 1997, the murder rate has stayed about the same.

____ 4. The United States has a higher percentage of people in jail than any other country in the world.

____ 5. Although the Brady bill has passed the Senate several times, it has not been passed by the House of Representatives.

____ 6. Most recent congressional crime bills have emphasized punishment over prevention.

____ 7. Most federal drug programs spend more money fighting the demand for drugs rather than the supply.

____ 8. A 1997 survey showed an increase in drug use by 12- to 17-year-old Americans.

____ 9. About 13.5 million crimes are committed annually in the United States.

____ 10. Americans own more than 200 million firearms.

Definitions: Using complete sentences, write a short definition for each of the following terms.

11. Brady gun control law

12. mandatory sentencing

13. "three strikes and you're out"

14. Second Amendment

15. Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act of 1994

Essay: Write a complete answer for each of the following.

16. Write one pro and one con argument for each of the following statements.

    a. The government should enact stricter gun control laws.

    b. Drug convictions should carry mandatory jail sentences.

    c. Under certain circumstances, juveniles should be tried as adults.

17. Explain why most experts believe there is a direct relationship between poverty and crime.

18. Imagine you are a member of Congress writing a bill to fight the rising drug use by teens. List and briefly explain three items you would include in your bill.

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THE ECONOMY

True/False: Use T for true and F for false, and place your answer in the blank. Use the space below the item to correct any statements you think are false.

____ 1. President Reagan's economic plan included decreasing the amount of taxes paid by Americans.

____ 2. Many American firms have moved their factories to other countries to take advantage of lower foreign labor costs.

____ 3. Although the economy grew substantially during most of the 1980s, the national debt soared.

____ 4. The Roosevelt administration fought the Great Depression of the 1930s by lowering taxes and interest rates.

____ 5. During recessions, the Fed often raises interest rates to lower inflation.

____ 6. During periods of high inflation, people are more inclined to save money.

____ 7. The U.S. economy was in recession during much of President Clinton's first term.

____ 8. The United States has one of the highest productivity rates in the world.

____ 9. By the end of 1997, the inflation rate remained high while the unemployment rate had dropped.

____ 10. Under a flat tax plan, wealthier people would pay a higher percentage of their income in taxes than low-income people.

Definitions: Using complete sentences, write a short definition for each of the following terms.

11. inflation

12. recession

13. supply-side economics

14. productivity

15. international interdependence

Essay: Write a complete answer for each of the following.

16. Write one pro and one con argument for each of the following statements.

    a. The government should do more to close the income gap.

    b. The government should abandon the current tax system.

    c. The government should focus less on controlling inflation and more on creating jobs.

17. Who is most likely to be hurt most by inflation? Select one and defend your choice.

    a. a retired couple living on their savings and Social Security

    b a young couple who just bought a house

    c. a middle-aged couple who owns several apartments

    d. a recent college graduate starting to pay off a college loan

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EDUCATION

True/False: Use T for true and F for false, and place your answer in the blank. Use the space below the item to correct any statements you think are false.

____ 1. Local property tax–based funding for education often results in equal educational opportunities between low-income and wealthy districts.

____ 2. The federal government was not significantly involved in education until the 1950s and 1960s.

____ 3. Early efforts to integrate schools often depended on court-ordered busing.

____ 4. Charter schools are private schools that depend on vouchers.

____ 5. The greatest share of funding for public schools comes from the national level of government.

____ 6. Some people believe that U.S. schools are becoming resegregated because many white Americans are moving to the suburbs.

____ 7. Project Head Start was one of President Johnson's Great Society programs.

____ 8. In 1954, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that segregated schools were unconstitutional.

____ 9. President Clinton vetoed Congress's plan to implement a national testing program for fourth and eighth graders.

____ 10. Supporters of vouchers think that they would give parents a greater choice of where their children go to school.

Definitions: Using complete sentences, write a short definition for each of the following terms.

11. busing

12. school desegregation

13. tax credits

14. magnet schools

15. school choice

Essay: Write a complete answer for each of the following.

16. Write one pro and one con argument for each of the following statements.

    a. The federal government should implement national education standards and testing.

    b. Parents should be given vouchers to pay for private schools.

    c. The government should give tax credits to lower- and middle-income parents of college students.

17. Explain the purpose of Head Start schools.

18. Explain why most communities support decentralized schools.

19. Identify three changes that you think would improve the quality of education in your school and explain how each would improve education.

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UNIT TEST

HEALTH CARE AND AGING

True/False: Use T for true and F for false, and place your answer in the blank. Use the space below the item to correct any statements you think are false.

____ 1. Americans spend more on health care than do people in any other country.

____ 2. Some experts say Americans will spend nearly $1.5 trillion on health care by 2000.

____ 3. Medicaid is a joint federal-state program to help older Americans pay for health care.

____ 4. About 41 million Americans have no health insurance.

____ 5. Even people who are covered by private insurance sometimes go without medical treatment because they cannot afford to pay the deductible.

____ 6. Since the early 1980s, more than 1 million Americans have died from AIDS.

____ 7. Government-financed health care was a key part of President Johnson's Great Society program.

____ 8. Health care costs will go down as the baby boomers begin to retire.

____ 9. Medicare pays all the medical expenses of older Americans.

____ 10. The development of new medical technologies is reducing the cost of medical care.

Definitions: Using complete sentences, write a short definition for each of the following terms.

11. baby-boom generation

12. human immunodeficiency virus (HIV)

13. managed care

14. deductible

15. universal coverage

Essay: Write a complete answer for each of the following.

16. List and describe three reasons why health care costs are rapidly rising.

17. Write a paragraph either supporting or opposing the speeding up of drug approval by the FDA.

18. Write a one-page essay either agreeing or disagreeing with the following statement: "Older Americans should pay more for Medicare."

19. Write a one-page essay either agreeing or disagreeing with the following statement: "The United States should provide universal health care coverage."

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IMMIGRATION

True/False: Use T for true and F for false, and place your answer in the blank. Use the space below the item to correct any statements you think are false.

____ 1. California voters turned down Proposition 187, which would have denied some state services to illegal immigrants.

____ 2. The Japanese Exclusion Act marked the first time that the United States closed its doors to any group.

____ 3. The 1965 Immigration Act created a serious illegal immigration problem.

____ 4. Quotas have generally favored immigrants from cultures already heavily represented in the United States.

____ 5. The strength of the U.S. economy has been a major force in attracting immigrants to the United States.

____ 6. The Refugee Act of 1980 allows someone fleeing economic hardship to be admitted to the United States.

____ 7. One argument against illegal aliens is that they take jobs away from qualified U.S. citizens.

____ 8. The 1986 Immigration Reform and Control Act granted some illegal aliens amnesty and allowed them to become citizens.

____ 9. The 1996 Immigration Act doubled the size of the Border Patrol force.

____ 10. The McCarran-Walter Act of 1952 was designed to restrict the flow of immigrants from eastern and southern Europe.

Definitions: Using complete sentences, write a short definition for each of the following terms.

11. quota

12. official language

13. amnesty

14. refugee

15. assimilation

Essay: Write a complete answer for each of the following.

16. Write one pro and one con argument for each of the following statements.

    a. Illegal immigration is hurting the U.S. economy.

    b. The government should adopt English as its official language.

    c. The government should deny social services to illegal immigrants.

17. Restrictive legislation has often been motivated by prejudice. Describe one such example.

18. Why did many native-born Americans favor immigration quotas in 1900?

19. Present one argument in support of and one argument against the premise that immigrants take jobs away from U.S. citizens.

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THE MEDIA

True/False: Use T for true and F for false, and place your answers in the blank. Use the space below the item to correct any statements you think are false.

____ 1. Freedom of the press is guaranteed by the First Amendment to the Constitution.

____ 2. John Peter Zenger was found innocent by a jury that thought that the government had violated his right to freedom of expression given to him by the U.S. Constitution.

____ 3. U.S. newspapers are required by law to be neutral and nonpartisan in their reporting about the government or government officials.

____ 4. The U.S. Supreme Court ruled that *The New York Times* could print the Pentagon Papers.

____ 5. After the Kennedy/Nixon presidential debate, most people who had watched on television thought that Kennedy had come out ahead.

____ 6. Today, about 40 million people around the world get news from the Internet.

____ 7. Tabloid journalism has increased the public confidence and trust toward the news media.

____ 8. The Sixth Amendment guarantees a defendant's right to have a television camera in the courtroom.

____ 9. The Supreme Court has ruled that student newspapers do not enjoy the same freedom of the press as professional newspapers.

____ 10. Many people believe that televised reports from the Vietnam War lengthened the war and delayed the U.S. pullout.

Definition: Using complete sentences, write a short definition for each of the following terms.

11. Internet

12. sedition

13. "new media"

14. sound bite

15. Pentagon Papers

16. Write a paragraph agreeing or disagreeing with each of the following.

   a. The "new media" harm the political process.

   b. Television cameras should be allowed in courtrooms.

   c. Television stations should give free airtime to political candidates.

17. What do you think the press could do to improve its image with the public?

18. Write a short essay explaining one benefit of the Internet. Then, write another short essay explaining one problem with the Internet.

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POVERTY

True/False: Use T for true and F for false, and place your answer in the blank. Use the space below the item to correct any statements you think are false.

____ 1. In recent years, government spending for social programs has been cut.

____ 2. President Roosevelt's New Deal gave jobs and money to unemployed, low-income, and older Americans.

____ 3. Medicare and Medicaid were parts of the New Deal.

____ 4. Single mothers and their children make up about one-third of the nation's poor.

____ 5. In 1996, Congress passed a welfare reform bill that gives block grants to states for them to spend on their own welfare programs.

____ 6. Medicare provides lower-income individuals with free or subsidized medical care.

____ 7. An unemployed person benefits greatly from the earned-income tax credit.

____ 8. The federal AFDC program has been eliminated.

____ 9. In 1996, almost 14 percent of the U.S. population lived in poverty.

____ 10. Many people objected to the 1996 welfare reform law because it did away with the federal guarantee of financial assistance to every needy family.

Definitions: Using complete sentences, write a short definition for each of the following terms.

11. block grants

12. Great Society

13. Medicaid

14. earned-income tax credit

15. food stamps

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Essay: Write a complete answer for each of the following.

16. Write one pro and one con argument for each of the following statements.

    a. The states will do a better job than the federal government controlling welfare.

    b. The federal government should reduce financial assistance to the working poor.

    c. The government should continue to fund public-housing programs.

17. What were the arguments used by members of Congress and others who wanted to eliminate AFDC?

18. What is workfare?

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UNIT TEST

WOMEN AND MINORITIES

True/False: Use T for true and F for false, and place your answer in the blank. Use the space below the item to correct any statements you think are false.

____ 1. "Jim Crow" laws were declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court as early as 1896.

____ 2. The U.S. armed forces have been integrated since the Civil War.

____ 3. The Supreme Court ruled in *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas,* that maintaining separate schools for black and white students is unconstitutional.

____ 4. The poll tax was not barred until passage of the Twenty-fourth Amendment.

____ 5. Discrimination in programs receiving federal aid was declared unconstitutional in 1964.

____ 6. Federal law extends civil rights protections to people based on sexual orientation.

____ 7. Women earned the right to vote when the Fifteenth Amendment was passed shortly after the Civil War.

____ 8. Federal law requires that men and women be paid equally for equal work.

____ 9. In 1982, the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) guaranteeing equal rights for women was added to the Constitution.

____ 10. The Defense of Marriage Act upholds same-sex unions such as those approved in Hawaii.

Definitions: Using complete sentences, write a short definition for each of the following terms.

11. Proposition 209

12. affirmative action

13. hate crimes

14. Civil Rights Act of 1964

15. "Jim Crow" laws

Essay: Write a complete answer for each of the following.

16. Write a paragraph agreeing or disagreeing with each of the following.

    a. Affirmative action should be abolished.

    b. Tougher penalties shoud be applied to persons convicted of hate crimes.

    c. Same-sex marriages should be allowed.

17. Write an essay agreeing or disagreeing with the following statement: "The history of the United States has been one of gradual expansion of both the meaning of civil rights and the groups to which they are extended."

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DEFENSE

True/False: Use T for true and F for false, and place your answer in the blank. Use the space below the item to correct any statements you think are false.

____ 1. During the 1980s, the U.S. government cut defense spending because President Reagan believed the Soviet Union was no longer a threat.

____ 2. For many years after World War II, U.S. military forces trained to fight one potential enemy—the Soviet Union.

____ 3. At present, the United States has about 1.4 million men and women in the armed forces.

____ 4. Russia and other former communist nations are now members of NATO.

____ 5. The United States now has about 300,000 troops in Europe.

____ 6. The War Powers Act was passed by Congress in response to the invasion of Grenada by President Ronald Reagan.

____ 7. Only Congress can declare war.

____ 8. The United States is committed by treaty to defending allies around the world.

____ 9. During the Cold War years of the 1950s and 1960s, the United States often used military force to support pro-American governments threatened by communist forces.

____ 10. U.S. troops were sent to Bosnia in 1995 to keep a friendly government in power there.

Definitions: Using complete sentences, write a short definition for each of the following terms.

11. nuclear deterrence

12. NATO

13. national security

14. peace engagement

15. War Powers Act

Essay: Write a complete answer for each of the following.

16. Write a paragraph agreeing or disagreeing with each of the following.

  a. The United States should adopt a new defense strategy.

  b. The U.S. military should be used in peacekeeping missions.

  c. The United States should invest more money in high-tech versions of traditional weapons.

17. Many critics have argued that military spending is a poor allocation of scarce national resources that could be better invested in other programs. Others say it is money well spent because it ensures national security and helps the economy. Write a paragraph stating your opinion, but support your argument with facts.

18. "The War Powers Act is an unconstitutional infringement on the power of the presidency." Write a paragraph stating your opinion of this statement. Support your argument with facts.

19. Discuss ways in which the United States helps defend its allies around the world.

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DEMOCRACY AND HUMAN RIGHTS

True/False: Use T for true and F for false, and place your answer in the blank. Use the space below the item to correct any statements you think are false.

____ 1. The United States is the oldest continuous democracy in the modern world.

____ 2. A great deal of decolonization took place after World War II because maintaining and administering colonies was expensive for the colonial powers.

____ 3. There are about twenty-five more democracies in the world today than there were in the 1970s.

____ 4. U.S. foreign policy has generally focused on promoting democracy around the world.

____ 5. President Clinton sent U.S. troops to Bosnia to remove an undemocratic dictator from power.

____ 6. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights was passed by the U.S. Congress after World War II to urge governments around the world to grant human rights to their citizens.

____ 7. Human rights have become much more important as a foreign policy issue because of global communications and increased international trade.

____ 8. China and the United States have agreed that the United States will no longer link trade and human rights in its relations with China.

____ 9. United Nations and U.S. troops helped restore elected president Jean-Bertrand Aristide to power in Haiti in 1994.

____ 10. Many of the countries in Latin America still do not have democratically elected governments.

Definitions: Using complete sentences, write a short definition for each of the following terms.

11. decolonization

12. self-determination

13. war crimes

14. national interest

15. genocide

16. Write a paragraph agreeing or disagreeing with each of the following.

a. U.S. foreign policy should be focused on protecting human rights.

b. The U.S. military should be used to pursue and arrest alleged war criminals.

c. American troops should not be used to promote democracy in other nations.

17. List and explain at least two historic events that have led to today's unprecedented number of democracies around the world.

18. Name and briefly discuss three occasions on which U.S. troops were sent to foreign countries to build democracy.

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THE GLOBAL ENVIRONMENT

True/False: Use T for true and F for false, and place your answer in the blank. Use the space below the item to correct any statements you think are false.

____ 1. The greenhouse effect could melt polar ice caps and raise the level of oceans enough to flood many coastal U.S. cities.

____ 2. Changes in the average global temperatures of a few degrees have little effect on Earth's weather.

____ 3. Acid rain is primarily a U.S. problem.

____ 4. The United States now has a permanent underground repository for nuclear waste.

____ 5. Nuclear waste can be dangerous for thousands of years.

____ 6. A hole in the ozone layer was recently found over Siberia in Russia.

____ 7. About 400,000 children are born in the world each day.

____ 8. The Montreal Protocol addressed the issue of banning the use of CFCs.

____ 9. The cost of pollution control is high, but so is the cost of allowing pollution to continue.

____ 10. Earth Summit II found that environmental practices around the world have dramatically improved since the first Earth Summit.

Definitions: Using complete sentences, write a short definition for each of the following terms.

11. Earth Summit

12. ozone layer

13. greenhouse effect

14. CFCs

15. acid rain

Essay: Write a complete answer for each of the following.

16. Write a paragraph agreeing or disagreeing with each of the following.
    a. The United States should sign the Kyoto global warming treaty.

    b. Power companies should begin building more nuclear power plants.

    c. Governments should raise water prices to avoid shortages.

17. Explain why the governments of the United States and Mexico would likely disagree about the terms of the Kyoto Protocol.

18. "Many issues are not national but international." Support this statement by describing the international nature of one type of pollution.

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INTERNATIONAL TRADE

True/False: Use T for true and F for false, and place your answer in the blank. Use the space below the item to correct any statements you think are false.

____ 1. Tariffs discourage the purchase of domestic products.

____ 2. The floating exchange system for currency was developed at Bretton Woods in 1944.

____ 3. Experts believe that NAFTA will help reduce the U.S. trade deficit with Japan.

____ 4. The trade wars of the 1930s deepened the effects of the Great Depression.

____ 5. The trade deficit is blamed for the loss of thousands of U.S. jobs to foreign workers every year.

____ 6. The United States enjoys a trade surplus with China but has a trade deficit with Japan.

____ 7. A country's climate may give it a comparative advantage.

____ 8. Protectionism may result in a trade war.

____ 9. GATT is an international organization established to set a code of conduct for nations that trade.

____ 10. The Trade Act of 1988 requires the president to increase trade with countries that limit U.S. trade.

Definitions: Using complete sentences, write a short definition for each of the following terms.

11. free trade

12. most favored nation (MFN)

13. protectionism

14. fast track

15. trade deficit

Essay: Write a complete answer for each of the following.

16. Identify two trade barriers and explain how they would restrict trade.

17. What kinds of jobs are most likely to be lost by Americans to foreign countries under free-trade agreements such as NAFTA and GATT? Explain your answer.

18. Explain the purpose of the World Trade Organization (WTO) and how its ruling on a dispute between Japan and the U.S. company Kodak could affect trade between the two nations.

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UNIT TEST

WEAPONS PROLIFERATION

True/False: Use T for true and F for false, and place your answer in the blank. Use the space below the item to correct any statements you think are false.

____ 1. The world's largest arms dealers are the oil-rich nations of the Middle East and Asia.

____ 2. The United States and other nuclear powers have agreed to transfer nuclear technology for electricity production and medical research.

____ 3. The International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) has the power to inspect nuclear facilities and enforce UN nonproliferation treaties.

____ 4. World leaders are worried that nuclear materials from the former Soviet Union could fall into the hands of terrorists or unfriendly governments.

____ 5. Although many countries have signed pledges not to acquire nuclear weapons, others have refused to make such promises.

____ 6. Nuclear reactors can be used to develop weapons.

____ 7. Many experts believe that the spread of nuclear weapons has increased over the past twenty-five years.

____ 8. In 1996, more than fifty UN members signed the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty.

____ 9. The United States led the campaign to ban the production and use of land mines.

____ 10. The development and manufacture of sophisticated military hardware account for hundreds of thousands of jobs in the United States.

Definitions: Using complete sentences, write a short definition for each of the following terms.

11. nuclear technology

12. Oslo Conference

13. START II

14. conventional weapons

15. nuclear club

Essay: Write a complete answer for each of the following.

16. Write one pro and one con argument for each of the following statements.

    a. The United States should support a ban on land mines.

    b. The United States should limit its sales of conventional weapons.

    c. The United States should stop selling nuclear materials and technology.

17. Explain why some people have called chemical weapons the "poor man's atomic bomb."

18. Choose one treaty or agreement you have read about in "Weapons Proliferation." Which nations were involved? What were the terms of the treaty? Was the agreement successful? Why or why not?

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WORLD POVERTY AND FOREIGN AID

True/False: Use T for true and F for false, and place your answer in the blank. Use the space below the item to correct any statements you think are false.

____ 1. More than 1 billion people now live in poverty, many suffering from hunger and disease.

____ 2. Two-thirds of the world's impoverished people are younger than age 15.

____ 3. Experts predict that the world's population will surpass 9 billion by 2050.

____ 4. One reason that the United States provides foreign aid is to open up future markets for American products.

____ 5. Sales of American military equipment to friendly nations have increased as a result of U.S. aid to those nations.

____ 6. The United States commits about 10 percent of its annual budget to foreign aid.

____ 7. Most U.S. aid goes to areas in Africa that are experiencing famine.

____ 8. The highest population growth rates tend to be in the least developed nations.

____ 9. Most of the world's most impoverished countries are in the Northern Hemisphere.

____ 10. Starvation plagues more people today than it did thirty years ago.

Definitions: Using complete sentences, write a short definition for each of the following terms.

11. North-South conflict

12. multilateral aid

13. bilateral aid

14. U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID)

15. national interest

Essay: Write a complete answer for each of the following.

16. Write one pro and one con argument for each of the following statements.

    a. The United States should continue to give foreign aid because it is in the U.S. national interest.

    b. The United States should abolish the U.S. Agency for International Development and privatize foreign aid.

    c. The United States should promote family planning to slow population growth.

17. Identify three reasons why the United States has historically given foreign aid.

18. Explain the difference between humanitarian assistance and security assistance.

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EAST ASIA

True/False: Use T for true and F for false, and place your answer in the blank. Use the space below the item to correct any statements you think are false.

____ 1. Japan rebuilt its postwar industries with the help of American aid.

____ 2. The U.S. trade deficit with Japan has increased since the early 1980s.

____ 3. The United States and Japan agreed to a security arrangement in 1952.

____ 4. Trade is essential to the economy of Japan.

____ 5. In recent years, Japan has had the fastest-growing economy in East Asia.

____ 6. U.S.-China relations faltered when the United States accused some Chinese factories of illegally producing copies of U.S. products.

____ 7. Japanese-owned factories in the United States provide thousands of jobs for American workers.

____ 8. China has abandoned its communist government in favor of capitalism.

____ 9. In 1997, Taiwan officially became part of the People's Republic of China.

____ 10. In recent years, North Korea's economy has deteriorated.

Definitions: Using complete sentences, write a short definition for each of the following terms.

11. trade deficit

12. "one China"

13. MFN trade status

14. Mutual Security Treaty

15. demilitarized zone

Essay: Write a complete answer for each of the following.

16. From the perspective of a leading consumer advocate, write a letter to your member of Congress about U.S.-Japanese trade policies.

17. From the perspective of an unemployed autoworker, write a letter to your member of Congress about U.S.-Japanese trade policies.

18. Write one pro and one con argument for each of the following statements.

    a. The United States should withdraw its troops from Japan.

    b. The United States should lift economic sanctions against North Korea.

    c. The United States should recognize Taiwan.

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UNIT TEST

EUROPE AND RUSSIA

True/False: Use T for true and F for false, and place your answer in the blank. Use the space below the item to correct any statements you think are false.

____ 1. One goal of Soviet foreign policy after World War II was to establish a buffer zone between the Soviet Union and Germany.

____ 2. Members of the EC signed the Maastricht Treaty in 1992, and European unity became a reality in 1993.

____ 3. During the Cold War, Germany was divided into two separate countries, the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic.

____ 4. NATO was originally formed to fight Nazi Germany during World War II.

____ 5. *Détente* refers to the easing of tension between the United States and the Soviet Union in the 1970s.

____ 6. Mikhail Gorbachev named Boris Yeltin the president of Russia after the breakup of the Soviet Union.

____ 7. The economies of Europe have been booming since the end of the Cold War.

____ 8. Croatia, the largest and most powerful of the former Yugoslav republics, tried to subdue its Muslim neighbors in Bosnia.

____ 9. Several eastern European countries are now members of NATO.

____ 10. Under the Dayton peace plan, Bosnia was divided into two ethnic zones.

Definitions: Using complete sentences, write a short definition for each of the following terms.

11. the euro

12. Marshall Plan

13. European Community (EC)

14. economic "shock therapy"

15. nationalism

Essay: Write a complete answer for each of the following.

16. Write one pro and one con argument for each of the following statements.

    a. Peace in the former Yugoslavia is a vital U.S. interest, and American troops should remain there until peace has been secured.

    b. The United States should send economic aid to eastern Europe.

    c. NATO expansion will hurt U.S.-Russian relations.

17. Describe two major changes in Europe as a result of the fall of communism.

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UNIT TEST

LATIN AMERICA

True/False: Use T for true and F for false, and place your answer in the blank. Use the space below the item to correct any statements you think are false.

____ 1. Haitian president Aristide was returned to power after U.S. forces occupied Haiti.

____ 2. Mexico, like many other countries in Latin America and the Caribbean, has been politically unstable.

____ 3. Mexico is the United States' third-largest trading partner after Canada and Japan.

____ 4. Cuba's communist revolution had little effect on other Latin American countries.

____ 5. Present U.S. policy toward Latin America emphasizes the containment of communism.

____ 6. In 1994, Mexico's economy suffered after President Zedillo lifted Mexico's fixed exchange rate against the U.S. dollar.

____ 7. In 1996, right-wing candidate Arnoldo Aleman defeated the Sandinista candidate, Daniel Ortega, in presidential elections in Nicaragua.

____ 8. A revolutionary group in Peru called the Shining Path held foreign diplomats captive in the Japanese embassy for many months beginning in 1996.

____ 9. Chile may become the newest member of NAFTA.

____ 10. Opponents of the North American Free Trade Agreement said that the agreement would harm U.S. workers because many manufacturing jobs would move to Mexico.

Definitions: Using complete sentences, write a short definition for each of the following terms.

11. narcoterrorism

12. trade embargo

13. Reagan Doctrine

14. North American Free Trade Agreement

15. drug cartels

Essay: Write a complete answer for each of the following.

16. Write one pro and one con argument for each of the following statements.

    a. The United States should lift the economic embargo against Cuba.

    b. A U.S.–Latin American free-trade zone should be established.

    c. The United States should use military means to combat the Latin American drug trade.

17. Describe two major economic problems that seem to affect many Latin American countries.

18. Describe the purpose of the Helms-Burton Act and tell why U.S. trading partners were opposed to it.

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THE MIDDLE EAST

True/False: Use T for true and F for false, and place your answer in the blank. Use the space below the item to correct any statements you think are false.

____ 1. The modern history of the Middle East has been dominated by conflict between Arabs and Israelis.

____ 2. In 1947, the United Nations proposed that two states, one Arab and one Jewish, be created in Palestine.

____ 3. The United States at first refused to recognize the new nation of Israel.

____ 4. Egypt's President Nasser successfully unified all Arab nations into the United Arab Republic.

____ 5. Israel is the most populous country in the Middle East.

____ 6. Khomeini "Westernized" Iran after seizing the government from the shah in 1979.

____ 7. The September 1993 peace agreement between the PLO and Israel included a provision by Israel to create a Palestinian homeland.

____ 8. Yassir Arafat is the leader of the PLO.

____ 9. Israel occupies the West Bank but only Palestinians have been allowed to live there.

____ 10. The Persian Gulf War was caused by Iraq's invasion and annexation of Kuwait.

Definitions: Using complete sentences, write a short definition for each of the following terms.

11. Zionism

12. Palestine Liberation Organization

13. Hezbollah

14. *intifada*

15. Camp David Accords

Essay: Write a complete answer for each of the following.

16. Write one pro and one con argument for each of the following statements.

    a. The United States should use military force to oust Saddam Hussein.

    b. The United States should support the establishment of an independent Palestinian state.

    c. The United States should pressure Israel to return the Golan Heights to Syria.

17. Describe the causes of conflict in the Middle East from the perspectives of both a Palestinian and an Israeli.

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UNIT TEST ANSWERS

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THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

1. T
2. F—Republicans controlled both houses of the 105th Congress.
3. F—They often disagree.
4. T
5. T
6. T
7. T
8. T
9. F—The Court struck down the background check part of the Brady gun control law.
10. F—The gridlock was brought about by disagreement over balancing the federal budget.
11. The Cabinet is made up of the secretaries of thirteen executive departments and the attorney general, along with the heads of other key administrative agencies. All are appointed by the president and can be fired by the president.
12. There is divided government when the executive and legislative branches are controlled by different parties.
13. PACs are tools through which special interest groups raise and contribute money to political campaigns.
14. The chief justice "leads" the Supreme Court in presiding over conferences, assigning associate justices to write opinions, and determining the list of cases the Court will consider. The chief is paid more than the associates; however, his or her vote carries no more weight than any of the other justices.
15. "Soft money" refers to campaign contributions that are made to the party rather than to individual candidates.
16. Students can pick any three Cabinet members. Refer to "The Clinton Administration" as a guide.
17. Term limits and campaign finance reform will have an effect on the members of Congress themselves. Many experts think Congress will not pass such legislation because its members do not want to leave office or lose their chance for reelection.
18. Answers may vary, but students should explain that the Court interprets laws and the Constitution. Its decisions are important because they can limit or expand the power of the federal government.

THE FEDERAL BUDGET

1. T
2. F—A deficit can be lowered by reducing spending, raising taxes, or a combination of the two.
3. T
4. T
5. T
6. F—Mandatory, or entitlement, spending is the highest of the categories.
7. T
8. F—Congress has not yet passed a balanced budget amendment.
9. T
10. T
11. Mandatory, or entitlement, spending covers programs such as Social Security, Medicare, and Medicaid. Anyone who qualifies is entitled to receive benefits.
12. The national debt is the sum of all deficits the U.S. government has accumulated over the years.
13. Discretionary spending pays for all the programs in the budget whose funding is adjusted by the president and Congress every year. It does not include defense spending.
14. Some Americans say that today's elected officials have a responsibility to control and reduce the

national debt so it does not become a burden for the next generation.

15. A fiscal year is a twelve-month period during which a government or business plans the use of its funds. The federal government's fiscal year runs from October 1 to September 30.

16. Students must present both a pro and a con argument for all three statements. Answers will vary. Teacher judgment is important to determine if answers are based on fact or are merely opinion. See "The Debate" at the end of the chapter for possible responses.

17. Many experts believe that Social Security will dry up in future years because the number of retirees is going up faster than the number of younger workers who are paying into the system. Americans are living longer and millions of "baby boomers" will begin to retire in 2008.

18. Congress and the president had not agreed on a budget for fiscal year 1996 by October 1, 1995, when that fiscal year began. On two occasions Congress refused to approve temporary spending bills that would have kept the government running, because the majority Republicans and President Clinton would not compromise on the budget plan. Both parties finally agreed to some concessions that allowed federal workers to go back to work.

CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS

1. F—It was added by the first Congress in 1789 and ratified in 1791 as the first ten amendments.

2. T

3. F—The Handgun Control Act was challenged in Court under rights granted by the Tenth Amendment.

4. T

5. F—The courts have ruled that certain types of speech and writing can be limited.

6. F—Federal laws passed by Congress restrict some kinds of weapons, such as sawed-off shotguns and fully automatic machine guns and rifles.

7. T

8. T

9. F—The Court has ruled that Americans do have the right to privacy under the Constitution.

10. F—More than forty states have passed legislation prohibiting doctor-assisted suicide.

11. The exclusionary rule says that any illegally seized evidence cannot be presented in a trial.

12. Under the U.S. system of federalism, the states and the federal government share power in a system outlined by the Constitution.

13. "Undue burden" is a term used by the Supreme Court to refer to any action by the state that makes it almost impossible for a woman to get an abortion.

14. Some states have considered allowing doctors to help terminally ill people commit suicide.

15. Unenumerated rights are rights not specifically mentioned in the Constitution.

16. Students must present both a pro and a con argument for all three statements. Their answers must be factual, and the teacher's judgment is important. Refer to "The Debate" for likely responses.

17. The Fourth Amendment protects against unreasonable searches and seizures; the Fifth Amendment protects suspects from self-incrimination; the Sixth Amendment guarantees the right to a speedy trial with a jury, the right to an attorney, and the right to confront witnesses; and the Eighth Amendment forbids excessive bail and cruel and unusual punishment.

18. Answers will vary, but students should base their answers on the information presented and discussed in this chapter.

CRIME AND DRUGS

1. T

2. T

3. F—The murder rate fell 9 percent.

4. T

5. F—The Brady bill passed Congress in 1993 and became law as the Handgun Control Act in 1994.

6. T

7. F—Most federal drug programs spend more money fighting the supply of drugs.

8. T

9. T

10. T

11. The Brady gun control law, also known as the Handgun Control Act, called for a five-day waiting period for the purchase of a handgun.

12. Mandatory sentencing laws obligate judges to sentence criminals to at least a minimum term in prison.

13. "Three strikes and you're out" refers to a crime-fighting tactic of giving mandatory life sentences to criminals convicted of three felonies for violent crimes.

14. The Second Amendment refers to the right of the people to keep and bear arms.

15. The Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act of 1994 provided $30 billion over six years for crime control. The act added police officers, banned some assault weapons, and imposed some mandatory life sentences.

16. Students are asked to give both a pro and a con response to all three statements. Answers may vary, and teacher judgment is important. Refer to "The Debate" for likely responses.

17. Answers should include information in *Current Issues* explaining how poverty and crime are related.

18. Items should be supported by factual and accurate information presented in *Current Issues*, class activities, and discussions.

THE ECONOMY

1. T

2. T

3. T

4. F—Roosevelt fought the Great Depression by creating millions of public works jobs.

5. F—The Fed often lowers interest rates during recessions to stimulate the economy.

6. F—During periods of high inflation, people are less inclined to save money.

7. F—The economy grew during most of Clinton's first term.

8. T

9. F—Inflation was low and the unemployment rate had dropped.

10. F—Under a flat tax, people would pay taxes based on the same percentage.

11. Inflation is a continuing rise in prices for goods and services.

12. A recession is a time marked by increased unemployment and declines in production, spending, and consumer demand.

13. "Supply-side economics" refers to an approach that limits the government's role in the economy. Supply-siders believe that the economy will flourish if businesses and consumers are allowed to pursue their own interests within a free marketplace not controlled by the government.

14. "Productivity" refers to the amount of goods produced per person per hour.

15. "International interdependence" refers to the dependence of the American economy on the economies of other nations and the dependence of other economies on the U.S. economy.

16. Students are to give both a pro and a con response to each statement. Refer to "The Debate" section at the end of the chapter for possible answers. Students may include other valid responses; therefore, teacher judgment is important.

17. The correct response is a. (The retired couple will be hurt the most by inflation. While their costs go up, their fixed income does not. Others have a chance to increase their incomes.)

EDUCATION

1. F—Unequal education opportunities often result from local property tax–based funding.

2. T

3. T

4. F—Charter schools are usually small publicly funded schools established to cater to students with a particular interest or special need.

5. F—Local governments provide most of the funding for education.

6. T

7. T

8. T

9. F—Clinton supported the national testing program for fourth and eighth graders.

10. T

11. "Busing" refers to a court-ordered plan whereby school districts must transport students from neighborhood schools to other schools in the district to achieve racial integration.

12. Desegregation took place in U.S. schools after the Supreme Court ruled that it was unconstitutional for school districts to separate students by race.

13. The government may give a tax credit to parents who have children in school or college, whereby they can deduct a certain amount from their annual income taxes.

14. Magnet schools offer specialized curricula designed to attract students from all over the district for the purpose of encouraging racial integration.

15. "School choice" refers to the practice of allowing parents in certain states or districts to choose the school they want their children to attend.

16. Students must provide one argument for and one argument against the three issues. Answers reflect student opinion, and teachers must use judgment when evaluating.

17. Head Start schools attempt to teach 3- and 4-year-olds basic concepts, such as prereading skills, that many believe will keep students in low-income areas from falling too far behind in elementary school. The goal is to help break the poverty cycle.

18. Decentralization allows parents a greater role in determining the kind of education they want for their children.

19. Answers will vary. Look for logical reforms that are supported by statements that indicate how each change would improve the quality of education. Students must identify three changes.

HEALTH CARE AND AGING

1. T

2. T

3. F—Medicaid helps low-income people pay for health care.

4. T

5. T

6. F—310,000 Americans have died from AIDS as of 1996.

7. T

8. F—The large number of baby boomers will likely cause health care costs to go up.

9. F—Recipients have to pay the first $600 of a hospital stay and whatever extra amount doctors

charge over the amount the government is willing to pay.

10. F—The new technologies are expensive, and the costs of equipment and services are passed on to patients and their insurers.

11. High birthrates from 1946 to the early 1960s caused a surge in the U.S. population, commonly called the baby boom.

12. Human immunodeficiency virus (HIV) is the virus that attacks the white blood cells in the body and causes AIDS.

13. Health insurance carriers commonly enroll their customers in managed care programs such as HMOs to hold down costs by limiting patients' access to more expensive specialists and hospitals.

14. The deductible is the amount of money patients must pay before their insurance coverage begins.

15. "Universal coverage" refers to an idea that all Americans would be guaranteed health care coverage by the government.

16. Students should give three answers. Possible answers include: (1) the U.S. health care industry has steadily expanded its system to where people no longer pay their own bills (bills are being paid by insurance companies, Medicare, and so forth); (2) the development of expensive new technology has caused a rapid rise in costs; and (3) the rapidly aging population adds to the number of people with health problems.

17. Students should give both sides of the argument in their essays, based on information in the chapter—especially from the "Debate" section.

18. Teachers should use their judgment when evaluating these essays. Students should take a stance and then defend it with specific evidence.

19. Teachers should use their judgment when evaluating these essays. Students are asked to take a position and then support it with factual arguments.

IMMIGRATION

1. F—Proposition 187 was passed.

2. F—The law was the Chinese Exclusion Act.

3. T

4. T

5. T

6. F—The act allows entry to political refugees, not economic refugees.

7. T

8. T

9. T

10. F—The McCarran-Walter Act added ideology to the requirements for admission of immigrants to the United States. Officials were concerned about immigrants who were communists entering the country.

11. Early immigration laws placed quotas, or limits, on the numbers of nonnorthern and nonwestern Europeans who could come to the United States. Officials wanted to preserve the ethnic makeup of the country.

12. Some Americans think that English should be made the official language of the United States to encourage immigrants to learn English.

13. Amnesty is a pardon from the government. In this case it was extended to millions of illegal immigrants.

14. A refugee is a person who flees another country for political or economic reasons.

15. "Assimilation" refers to the process of becoming like the majority population of a country.

16. Students must provide one answer for and one answer against the three issues. Answers reflect student opinion, and teachers must use judgment when evaluating. See "The Debate" at the end of the chapter for possible responses.

17. Students could give many examples from the list of legislation. Examples include the Chinese Exclusion Act and the "gentlemen's agreement," both of which excluded Asians because of American fears of Asians. The quota acts were also discriminatory, purposely based on census figures that did not accurately represent the ethnic makeup of the United States at the time the acts were passed.

18. Many native-born Americans were upset by the swing in immigration from northern and western Europe to immigration from southern and eastern Europe. They were unfamiliar with the cultural customs of the new immigrants and saw them as less desirable than immigrants who settled in the United States in the years prior to 1890.

19. Pro arguments could include: (1) the U.S. economy cannot absorb more immigrants; and (2) immigrants increase the overall labor pool and many are willing to work for lower wages, thus driving down overall wages.

    Con arguments could include: (1) immigrants are important because many are willing to take jobs that many native-born Americans turn down; and (2) the 1990 immigration law will create new jobs for Americans because it encourages the admission of well-educated immigrants who can create new businesses that will hire American workers.

THE MEDIA

1. T

2. F—Zenger's trial occurred during the colonial period before there was a U.S. Constitution.

3. F—Newspapers can be partisan, and most are.

4. T

5. T

6. T

7. F—Tabloid journalism seems to have lessened public trust of the media.

8. F—The Sixth Amendment guarantees the right to a "speedy and public" trial only.

9. T

10. F—Many think it shortened the war and hastened the U.S. pullout.

11. The Internet is a network of computers that allows users to "talk" to each other and access information electronically.

12. Sedition is an act, against the government, to which government officials object.

13. "New media" refers to the latest media technology, such as the Internet, e-mail, cable television, and so forth.

14. A sound bite is a short excerpt from a statement (perhaps made by a political candidate) that makes its way onto a television newscast.

15. The Pentagon Papers were secret documents about the Vietnam War that were printed against the wishes of the Nixon administration by *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post.*

16. Students are asked to either agree or disagree with all three statements. Answers may vary, and teacher judgment is important. Refer to "The Debate" for likely responses.

17. This question calls for student opinion, but answers should be based on factual and accurate information.

18. Answers may vary, but factual reasons should come out. Possible benefits include rapid communication, interaction with the sender, low cost, and so forth. Problems could include inaccurate and sensational news stories, transmission of pornography, and so forth.

POVERTY

1. T

2. T

3. F—They were parts of President Lyndon Johnson's Great Society.

4. T

5. T

6. F—Medicaid, not Medicare, provides health care to lower-income individuals.

7. F—Only those workers who earn an income below the poverty level qualify for the earned-income tax credit.

8. T

9. T

10. T

11. A block grant is a lump sum of money that the federal government gives to the states for them to spend as they wish—in this case on welfare.

12. "The Great Society" was the name of President Johnson's domestic policy program. Among its initiatives were a major civil rights law, Medicare and Medicaid, and the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964.

13. Medicaid provides free or subsidized medical care for low-income Americans. It is jointly funded by the federal and state governments.

14. An earned-income tax credit is an income credit —similar to a rebate—from the federal government given to families who fell below the poverty level despite having jobs.

15. Food stamps are vouchers that eligible people can take to the store and redeem for food.

16. Answers will vary. Make sure that student statements are factual. See "The Debate" at the end of the chapter for possible responses.

17. Many who wanted to eliminate AFDC objected to the cash payment to recipients, which recipients could spend as they wanted. Critics said AFDC encouraged out-of-wedlock births and provided incentives for recipients to stay unemployed. Others believed the states could do a better job than the federal government in running welfare programs.

18. In some areas, local governments ask welfare recipients to do a certain amount of public service work before they can collect a welfare check.

WOMEN AND MINORITIES

1. F—Some "Jim Crow" laws remained in effect into the 1960s.

2. F—The military was ordered to integrate by President Harry Truman in 1948.

3. T

4. T

5. F—Such discrimination was prohibited by the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

6. F—Federal law does not extend civil rights protections based on sexual orientation, although some state and local laws may extend these rights.

7. F—Women won the right to vote by ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment in 1920.

8. T

9. F—The ERA failed to receive approval from the necessary thirty-eight states and was not added to the Constitution.

10. F—The Defense of Marriage Act states that other states do not have to recognize legal same-sex marriages such as those performed in Hawaii.

11. Proposition 209 was a California initiative that barred the state from discriminating against, or granting preferential treatment to, any individual or group on the basis of race, sex, color, ethnicity, or national origin in public employment, education, or contracting.

12. Affirmative action is a policy that requires employers to take positive steps to overcome the effects of past discrimination.

13. A hate crime is an illegal act committed against a person because of a bias against that individual's race, religion, ethnic origin, or sexual orientation.

14. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 prohibited discrimination in public accommodations such as restaurants and hotels and in programs receiving federal aid.

15. "Jim Crow" laws were passed in southern states after Reconstruction to segregate public facilities by race.

16. Students must either agree or disagree with each of the statements. Answers will vary. Teacher judgment is important to determine if answers are based on fact or are merely opinion. See "The Debate" at the end of the chapter for possible responses.

17. Teachers should use their judgment when evaluating these essays. Students must take a stance and then defend it with specific evidence.

DEFENSE

1. F—Defense spending increased because President Reagan believed the United States was falling behind the Soviet Union in military strength.

2. T

3. T

4. F—Russia and other eastern European countries are only "partners" in NATO—not NATO members.

5. F—The United States has about 100,000 troops in Europe.

6. F—The War Powers Act was passed during the Nixon administration in response to U.S. involvement in Vietnam.

7. T

8. T

9. T

10. F—The goal of the U.S. effort was to uphold a peace treaty ending Bosnia's civil war.

11. During the Cold War, the United States and the Soviet Union pursued a policy called nuclear deterrence whereby each side believed that if it kept its nuclear arsenal at the same strength as its enemy's, the enemy would not attack.

12. NATO—the North Atlantic Treaty Organization—is a military alliance that includes the United States, Canada, most of western Europe, Greece, and Turkey.

13. National security means protection of vital economic and political interests as well as defense of the nation's borders.

14. In 1995, the Pentagon added a new strategy called peace engagement to support its increasing number of global peacekeeping operations.

15. The War Powers Act limits the president's use of U.S. troops by requiring the president to advise Congress before sending troops to a potential combat zone and limiting the time they can stay there without congressional authorization.

16. Students must either agree or disagree with each of the statements. Answers should be factual, and teacher judgment is important. See "The Debate" at the end of the chapter for possible answers.

17. The question calls for student opinion and critical thinking. Answers should be based on fact, and teacher judgment is important.

18. The question calls for student opinion and critical thinking. Answers should be based on fact, and teacher judgment is important.

19. The United States defends its allies by placing troops and nuclear missiles on allied soil, giving allies money to keep their defense systems up to date, and joining alliances such as NATO.

DEMOCRACY AND HUMAN RIGHTS

1. T

2. T

3. F—There are 117 democracies now, more than double the number of democracies in the 1970s.

4. T

5. F—Clinton sent U.S troops to Bosnia as part of a NATO peacekeeping force.

6. F—The Universal Declaration of Human Rights is a United Nations document.

7. T

8. F—The two countries have not agreed on the linkage of human rights and trade.

9. T

10. F—Nearly all Latin American nations are now democracies.

11. "Decolonization" refers to the period after World War II and into the 1960s when most European colonial powers gave up their overseas colonies.

12. Self-determination is the belief that a country should have the ability to govern itself without outside control or interference.

13. When individuals commit grave offenses against the laws of warfare, those acts are known as war crimes. They are often crimes against humanity, such as murder, rape, and torture.

14. National interest is similar to an individual's self-interest. A nation, like a person, bases its actions on what will be to its benefit or advantage.

15. Tyrants may pursue a policy of genocide whereby they try to wipe out an entire ethnic or racial group in their region.

16. Students must either agree or disagree with each of the statements. Answers will vary. Teacher judgment is important to determine if answers are based on fact or are merely opinion. See "The Debate" at the end of the chapter for possible responses.

17. Students should refer to such events as the end of World War II and decolonization, the fall of the Iron Curtain, U.S. military efforts in several Latin American countries, political transformation in South Africa, and other events you may have discussed in class.

18. Answers should focus on U.S. efforts in Panama, Haiti, and Bosnia.

THE GLOBAL ENVIRONMENT

1. T

2. F—Such changes have great impact.

3. F—Acid rain is an international problem.

4. F—No permanent repository yet exists.

5. T

6. F—The hole in the ozone layer is over Antarctica.

7. T

8. T

9. T

10. F—Earth Summit II found that environmental practices have not improved.

11. Representatives from many nations met in Brazil in 1992 to negotiate environmental agreements.

12. The ozone layer is a thin layer of gas that protects Earth from the harmful ultraviolet rays of the sun.

13. "Greenhouse effect" refers to the gradual rise in the temperature of Earth's atmosphere, caused by carbon dioxide trapping the sun's heat.

14. CFCs, or chlorofluorocarbons, are gases that harm the ozone layer.

15. Acid rain is a highly acidic rainfall that causes damage to soil, plants, buildings, and bodies of water.

16. Answers will vary, but a good answer should contain a valid argument agreeing or disagreeing with each of the issues. See "The Debate" at the end of the chapter for possible responses.

17. The United States, as a developed country, thinks that developing countries such as Mexico should have to meet the same greenhouse gas emission standard that developed countries do under the Kyoto Protocol.

18. Answers will vary, but typical answers might include the following.
    - acid rain—This problem involves both Canada and the United States (and many nations in Europe).
    - stream and lake pollution—If the body of water crosses national borders, one nation alone cannot solve the problem if the other nation continues to pollute.
    - the Chernobyl incident—Air pollutants were carried across many national borders.
    - greenhouse effect/ozone layer—All nations need to consider how they add to these problems.

INTERNATIONAL TRADE

1. F—Tariffs discourage purchase of foreign products.

2. F—The floating exchange system was not developed until 1971.

3. F—NAFTA only affects trade between the United States, Canada, and Mexico.

4. T

5. T

6. F—The United States has a trade deficit with both Japan and China.

7. T

8. T

9. T

10. F—The Trade Act of 1988 requires the president to limit imports from countries that do not give American exports the same treatment as their products receive in the United States.

11. "Free trade" refers to trade without restrictions.

12. A nation that gets most favored nation status from the U.S. government is given tariff breaks to increase trade between that nation and the United States.

13. "Protectionism" refers to the erecting of barriers to free trade.

14. Fast track trade authority would allow the president to negotiate a trade treaty with another country; the Senate would either have to approve or disapprove the treaty in its entirety. The Senate could not change the terms of the treaty.

15. A trade deficit occurs when a nation buys more foreign products than it sells to other nations.

16. Quotas restrict imports to a specific number. Tariffs are taxes on imports that make foreign products more expensive than similar domestic products.

17. Low-skilled jobs are most likely to be lost because U.S. companies will move factories that employ such workers to countries where workers will command less money.

18. The WTO was established by the most recent GATT agreement as an organization that would settle trade disputes between nations. The WTO ruling that Japan did not treat Kodak unfairly in its market could cause the United States to tighten its market to some Japanese products until Japan loosens some of its trade restrictions. Trade between the two nations would decline in some areas.

WEAPONS PROLIFERATION

1. F—The five members of the UN Security Council are the world's top arms exporters.

2. T

3. F—The International Atomic Energy Agency has the power to inspect nuclear facilities but does not have the power to enforce treaties.

4. T

5. T

6. T

7. F—Many experts believe that the spread of nuclear weapons has slowed over the past twenty-five years.

8. T

9. F—The United States is reluctant to ban land mines.

10. T

11. "Nuclear technology" refers to developments in weaponry, energy, and medicine using atomic energy.

12. The Oslo Conference was a meeting of nations to consider the banning of land mines.

13. START II is a treaty between the United States and Russia in which both sides agreed to reduce their nuclear arsenals by more than one-third.

14. Conventional weapons are nonnuclear weapons such as tanks, aircraft, and missiles.

15. "Nuclear club" refers to the group of nations that currently have nuclear weapon capabilities.

16. Students must provide one answer for and one answer against the three issues. Answers should reflect student opinion or factual information from the reading, and teachers must use judgment when evaluating.

17. Chemical weapons can be made cheaply, are hard to detect, can be used without warning, and can be very destructive.

18. Student responses should correspond to one treaty or agreement they have read about in the "Weapons Proliferation" chapter.

WORLD POVERTY AND FOREIGN AID

1. T

2. T

3. T

4. T

5. T

6. F—The United States commits less than 1 percent of its annual budget to foreign aid.

7. F—Most aid goes to the Middle East and Latin America.

8. T

9. F—Most developing countries are near or south of the equator.

10. T

11. Some experts define the pattern of world poverty in terms of North and South because most poor nations are located near or below the Equator and most developed countries are north of the Equator.

12. The United States gives money to international aid organizations that then distribute these funds to needy countries as multilateral aid.

13. Bilateral aid goes directly from one country to another country.

14. The U.S. Agency for International Development is a government agency that oversees a variety of development and humanitarian assistance programs.

15. An action that helps a country gain military or economic advantage is said to be in the national interest of that country.

16. Students are asked to give both a pro and a con response to each of the three statements. Answers will vary but should be factual. Teacher judgment is important. See "The Debate" at the end of the chapter for likely responses.

17. The United States gives aid: (1) to maintain a strong alliance system around the world; (2) to raise the standard of living in other countries, often enabling the recipients to buy more American products; (3) to promote political stability in a region by providing governments with military equipment and funds for economic development; and (4) for humanitarian reasons.

18. Development and humanitarian assistance help developing nations build roads, power plants,

schools, and hospitals, and provide food for the hungry. Security assistance is used to strengthen the armed forces and economies of friendly governments, enabling such governments to buy American-made weapons, airplanes, and military vehicles, and to train soldiers for their national defense. It is also granted to friendly governments for general budget use and to finance development projects.

EAST ASIA

1. T

2. T

3. T

4. T

5. F—China has had the fastest-growing economy in the 1990s.

6. T

7. T

8. F—China still has a communist government.

9. F—Taiwan is not part of the People's Republic of China. Hong Kong became part of China in 1997.

10. T

11. A trade deficit occurs when imports exceed exports in value.

12. The People's Republic of China subscribes to a "one China" doctrine, claiming that Taiwan is legally part of China and not a separate country.

13. Nations that receive most favored nation (MFN) trade status from the United States are given reductions in tariffs on goods they export to the United States.

14. The Mutual Security Treaty is an agreement signed in 1952 between the United States and Japan that ended U.S. military occupation but committed the United States to defend Japan in case Japan was attacked.

15. The demilitarized zone is a heavily defended strip of territory separating North and South Korea.

16. A consumer advocate would likely urge continued Japanese trade with few restrictions, because consumers would benefit from lower prices and high-quality products.

17. An unemployed autoworker would likely urge restrictions on Japanese imports so that U.S. industries, such as the automobile industry, could recover and expand and perhaps restore the autoworker's job.

18. Students must present both a pro and a con argument for all three statements. Their answers must be factual, and teacher judgment is important. See "The Debate" at the end of the chapter for possible responses.

EUROPE AND RUSSIA

1. T

2. T

3. T

4. F—NATO was formed in 1949 as an alliance to protect Europe from invasion by communist forces from eastern Europe and the Soviet Union.

5. T

6. F—Yeltsin was elected by the people to be president of Russia.

7. F—Many European economies have been in recession.

8. F—Serbia is the largest republic, and it has sent troops into Bosnia.

9. T

10. T

11. "Euro" is the name of the single European currency that is scheduled to be in use by 1999.

12. The Marshall Plan provided billions of dollars in U.S. aid, investment, and trade to rebuild Europe after World War II.

13. The European Community (or European Economic Community) was formed in 1957. Its twelve member nations operate economically almost as if they were one country. In 1993, all trade barriers in the EC were eliminated.

14. Boris Yeltsin's dramatic economic policies were called "shock therapy" because they drastically changed the way the Russians had lived under communism.

15. Nationalism is often described as a population's devotion to their religion, culture, or ethnicity.

16. Students are to give both a pro and a con answer to all three parts. Teacher judgment is important to determine if answers are based on fact or are merely opinion. See "The Debate" at the end of the chapter for possible answers.

17. Students should mention and expand on two of the following changes: the reunification of Germany, the demilitarization of Europe, and the rise of nationalism.

LATIN AMERICA

1. T

2. F—Mexico has been relatively stable politically.

3. T

4. F—Cuba's revolution inspired other revolutionary groups, especially in Central America.

5. F—Present U.S. policy emphasizes increasing free trade in the Western Hemisphere.

6. T

7. T

8. F—The revolutionary group that held the hostages in the Japanese embassy in Peru are called the Tupac Amaru.

9. T

10. T

11. Drug traffickers who use violence and intimidation of government officials to practice their trade engage in narcoterrorism.

12. A trade embargo is an attempt by a government to keep another nation from trading, in an effort to force that nation to change its behavior.

13. The Reagan Doctrine stated that the United States should strengthen its presence in Central America to prevent communist expansion.

14. The North American Free Trade Agreement would lower or eliminate tariffs on a large portion of U.S. exports to Mexico and Canada.

15. Drug cartels are crime organizations that wield considerable power in Colombia because they make so much money from illegal drug trafficking.

16. Students should give both a pro argument and a con argument for all three statements. Answers will vary but should be based on fact. Teacher judgment is important. Refer to "The Debate" at the end of the chapter for likely responses.

17. Choices could include: land ownership by a few families, land reform, unstable governments, civil war, lack of education, unemployment, and other social and economic problems.

18. The Helms-Burton Act seeks to prevent other nations from trading with Cuba by punishing them when they do. U.S. trading partners said that the United States should not be able to tell them who they can or cannot trade with.

THE MIDDLE EAST

1. T

2. T

3. F—The United States was one of the first nations to officially recognize Israel.

4. F—Nasser's attempt failed.

5. F—Egypt is the most populous country in the Middle East, with more than 55 million people.

6. F—Khomeini moved away from the "Westernization" started by the shah and moved Iran's government toward Islamic fundamentalism.

7. F—The agreement gave limited authority to Palestinians in the occupied territories but did not promise them a homeland.

8. T

9. F—Thousands of Israelis have settled in the West Bank.

10. T

11. Zionism was a political movement founded in 1897 to create a homeland for Jews.

12. The PLO was formed in 1964 to lead the fight for the creation of a Palestinian state.

13. Hezbollah is a Palestinian faction often accused of using terrorism.

14. The *intifada* was a violent protest against the presence of Israeli soldiers in the occupied territories by Palestinians who live there.

15. The Camp David Accords established a framework for peace in the Middle East. President Carter brought together the leaders of Egypt and Israel at the presidential retreat at Camp David, Maryland.

16. Students are to write both a pro and a con response to each of the three statements. Their answers must be factual, and teacher judgment is important. Refer to "The Debate" at the end of the chapter for likely responses.

17. Palestinians would say that their ancestors have been living in the region for hundreds of years and that the Israelis forced them from their homes in Palestine in 1948, and may say that the only way to get back their land is to fight. Israelis would say that their nation was legally established by the United Nations and that they have a right to it, that the land was given to them by God thousands of years ago, and that they will fight to hold on to it.

STUDENT HANDOUTS

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STUDENT HANDOUT 1

THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

Learning About Congress

As you read the "Congress" chapter, look for answers to the following questions.

1. What was historically important about the 105th Congress?

2. What is divided government? What are some disadvantages to having divided government? What are some advantages?

3. What legislation did the 105th Congress and President Clinton agree on? What issues did they not agree on?

4. Why do some Americans want to limit the amount of money a candidate may spend to run for office? Why has it been difficult for Congress to pass campaign reform legislation?

5. Under the Constitution, which branch of government is affected by term limits? What are some reasons why some Americans want term limits? What are some reasons why some Americans are opposed to term limits?

6. What is a political action committee (PAC)? Why do some Americans want to do away with campaign contributions made by PACs? Why do some Americans think PACs are valuable to the election and legislative processes?

Using *Current Issues* and other sources, answer the following questions.

7. Who is the majority leader of the Senate? Who is the minority leader of the Senate?

8. Who is the speaker of the House of Representatives?

9. Name the two U.S. senators who represent your state.

10. Name the member of the U.S. House of Representatives who represents your district.

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STUDENT HANDOUT 2

THE FEDERAL BUDGET

Ranking the Budget

Listed below are twenty categories of federal programs. You are the budget director and must present the final budget to the president. Rank the programs in order of priority using the number 1 for the most important item, down to number 20 for the least important. Also indicate the percentage of the federal budget that you want to devote to each category. You may eliminate any programs you believe unnecessary and add any you believe essential.

Priority Rank	Percent of Budget	
______	______	Defense
______	______	Foreign aid (technical, military, humanitarian)
______	______	Social Security increases
______	______	Subsidized housing for people with low incomes
______	______	Subsidy payments to farmers to maintain stable prices and inexpensive food
______	______	Food stamps
______	______	Space research and technology
______	______	Highway construction
______	______	National health program
______	______	Aid to education
______	______	Urban mass transportation
______	______	Unemployment benefits
______	______	Energy research
______	______	Veterans' benefits
______	______	Drug control
______	______	Environmental concerns (pollution control)
______	______	Student loans
______	______	Health research (AIDS, cancer, etc.)
______	______	Cost of living raises for government workers
______	______	Crime control (aid to states and local governments for law enforcement, training, and corrections)

After you have ranked the budget items, write a paragraph stating what you think will be the economic, social, and political implications of your budget.

1. Economic implications

2. Social implications

3. Political implications

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CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS

Constitutional Amendments

Complete the chart using information from "Constitutional Rights" in *Current Issues,* a copy of the Bill of Rights, and any other sources available.

Amendment Topic	Purpose	Supreme Court Decisions About the Amendment
1.		
2.		
3.		
4.		
5.		
6.		
7.		
8.		
9.		
10.		

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STUDENT HANDOUT 4

CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS

Topic Research

Name of topic: ______________________________

1. Why is your topic important?

2. What problems or issues does your topic pose?

3. List the positions that can be taken in regard to your topic.

4. What arguments can be offered to support each position?

5. What evidence did you find to support those arguments?

6. Who might be influenced by each position? How might they be influenced?

7. What are the costs to society of each position?

8. What are the benefits to society of each position?

9. What additional information would you like to have before making a policy recommendation? Where might you find this information?

10. What are your recommendations on this issue?

11. What steps can you take to promote the adoption of your policy?

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STUDENT HANDOUT 5

CRIME AND DRUGS

Community Crime Survey

Survey five members of your community, asking each respondent whether he or she agrees or disagrees. Write each respondent's initials in the appropriate column, fitting the responses of all survey participants on this page.

	Agree	Disagree
1. Crime is a serious problem in my neighborhood.		
2. Stricter punishment and stronger law enforcement will reduce crime in the United States.		
3. There are circumstances when juveniles should be tried as adults.		
4. Unemployment and poverty are the indirect causes of most crime.		
5. Drug use and the drug trade are the causes of most crime.		
6. Strict gun control laws will curb violent crime.		
7. The right to own a gun is protected by the U.S. Constitution.		
8. Most people who are arrested for committing violent crimes go to prison.		
9. People who have been found guilty of at least three violent crimes should be imprisoned for life.		
10. People convicted of drug-related crimes should be sent to prison for a mandatory length of time.		
11. Government should spend more money on drug prevention and less on punishment for drug users and traffickers.		
12. Americans should be willing to give up some of their traditional freedoms so that the government can better fight domestic terrorism.		

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THE ECONOMY

Cause/Effect Relationships

Explain the relationship between each of the events in the pairs listed below. How can a. cause b. to occur?

1. a. Productivity (production per worker per hour) is higher in a foreign nation than in the United States.
   b. Products made in that nation cost less than equivalent U.S. products.

2. a. The economies in many Asian countries go into recession.
   b. Unemployment in the United States increases.

3. a. The federal government spends more than it takes in each year in taxes.
   b. Interest rates for consumer loans increase.

4. a. Interest rates increase.
   b. Employment opportunities decrease.

5. a. Inflation is high.
   b. Fewer bank loans are available.

6. a. The government reduces taxes.
   b. Employment rises.

7. a. Unemployment rises in the United States.
   b. The federal budget deficit increases.

8. a. Americans buy fewer imports.
   b. Foreigners buy fewer American goods.

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EDUCATION

Research Outline

Use this handout to gather information you need to prepare a mock television report.

Topic: ______________________________

1. What are problems or areas of possible improvement?

2. What changes do I recommend?

3. Who will be influenced by my proposed changes?

4. How will they be influenced by my changes?

5. What are the benefits of my proposed changes?

6. What are the possible negative aspects of my proposed changes?

7. Other information:

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HEALTH CARE AND AGING

Student Survey

You may work together to find the correct response for each of the following true/false statements. Use any source of information necessary to determine if the statement is true or false. If you cannot find the information, write down the answer you think is correct.

____ 1. In some states, family health insurance costs have risen as much as 400 percent since 1980.

____ 2. The average cost of a heart transplant is $162,000.

____ 3. Lifetime care for AIDS patients costs an average of $100,000 per patient.

____ 4. The health care industry accounts for about one-seventh of the nation's economy.

____ 5. People with low incomes are significantly less healthy than others.

____ 6. Federal, state, and local governments pay almost 50 percent of all health care costs.

____ 7. By 2000, the nation's health care bill will approach $1.5 trillion.

____ 8. About 41 million Americans have no health insurance.

____ 9. In 1996, the federal government spent almost $150 billion on Medicaid.

____ 10. In the early stages of pregnancy, low-income women are less likely to see a doctor than are middle- or high-income women.

____ 11. Low-income men are 40 percent more likely to die of heart diseases than are middle- or high-income men.

____ 12. By 2020, older Americans will account for about 20 percent of the U.S. population.

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STUDENT HANDOUT 9

IMMIGRATION

Immigration Candidates

You are a member of the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS). Your task is to screen people who are interested in immigrating to the United States. All the candidates described below would like to enter the United States, but under current U.S. law, immigration is limited and restricted. In the space provided, explain why each of the following persons should or should not be allowed to enter the United States as a permanent resident.

William Babington, Jr.—Thirty-nine years old; single; born and lived in Great Britain all his life; a college-educated engineer with a special skill in computer science. He carries the HIV virus.

José Mendoza—Forty-five years old; married with five children; native of Mexico; forced off his land by low agricultural prices and high inflation; willing to accept any job; desires that his children be given educational opportunities that he never had. He and members of his family cannot speak English.

Juan Garcia—Twenty-five-year-old Cuban who has been a star baseball pitcher for the Cuban national team. He is assured of a multimillion dollar contract from the major league team that signed his brother, who defected to the United States in 1996. He speaks no English.

Ajit Patel—Twenty-nine years old; trained as a medical doctor in India; would like to come to America and begin a practice in pediatrics. His wife, Vanchhana, is a registered nurse. Both speak English, and they have no children.

Phethsana Luangkhoth—Thirty-seven-year-old native of Thailand; owns the successful sandal manufacturing plant in which he first started working as a child. Married with three children. No one in the family speaks English.

Mayrling Reformado—Fifty-five-year-old Filipina civil rights worker; imprisoned twice by a former Philippine government; was a member of the current administration until she began speaking out against civil rights abuses. She fears that if she stays in the Philippines, her life may be in danger. She is well-educated and bilingual, and wants to live with her daughter in Texas.

Zbigniew Stawowy—Forty-year-old native of Poland; fed up with the religious intolerance he and his family have experienced. As a Jew, he often finds himself and his people being blamed for the economic hard times. He is a baker by trade and everyone in his family speaks English. He has two brothers living in Chicago.

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THE MEDIA

What Ifs About the Media

Read each of the introductory paragraphs and then answer the "what if" questions. Write your response in the space following each item.

John Peter Zenger was accused of committing seditious libel because he published articles criticizing the English governor of New York. He was acquitted. Later, freedom of the press was guaranteed under the First Amendment, because the nation's founders believed that the people should have a right to express themselves freely without fear of government reprisal.

What if:

1. Zenger had been found guilty and all colonial newspapers had been closely censored or shut down?
2. The nation's founders, knowing they would likely be in positions of power in the government, had not extended freedom of the press to criticism of the government or elected officials?
3. Sedition laws were still in force?

While the media were given free rein to travel into combat zones in Vietnam and send both audio and video reports back home, reporters' movements and access to combat in the Persian Gulf War were quite restricted.

What if:

1. The U.S. military and government had closely restricted journalists in Vietnam and censored the reports that went in newspapers and on television in the United States?
2. Reporters had been given unrestricted access to combat zones and commanders during the Persian Gulf War?
3. News about troop movement and combat plans in the Persian Gulf had been openly reported before they actually happened?

Television has changed the way political campaigns are run. The Kennedy/Nixon debate opened the door for many other similar televised debates and now all candidates realize that they need to use television if they are going to get elected.

What if:

1. Nixon had appeared well-rested and clean shaven and Kennedy had looked tired and drawn?
2. Television networks refused to broadcast presidential debates during prime time because they did not want to lose the huge revenue from companies that sponsor entertainment programs watched by millions of fans?
3. A presidential candidate refused to debate his or her opponent on television, but preferred rather to use the time making a televised speech?

Millions of people get their news from sources on the Internet; others can watch news as it happens twenty-four hours a day on television. New telecommunication technology has speeded up the dissemination of news and some of the "new media" are interactive; people can talk back to their news sources almost instantaneously.

What if:

1. Competition among "new media" outlets threatened the accuracy and quality of the news?

2. Tabloid journalism replaced traditional journalism?

3. Internet news sources fell by the wayside as they found the public did not trust their reports and they could not compete financially with more powerful outlets such as television, radio, and newspapers?

Investigation by two reporters into a break-in at the Watergate office complex in Washington, D.C., led to a discovery of wider political wrongdoing by President Nixon and members of his administration. Nixon ultimately resigned, and many of his advisers were found guilty of various crimes.

What if:

1. The reporters had given up on their investigation, thinking that it was simply a burglary gone bad with no political implications?

2. The attempted cover-up of Watergate and related activities by members of the Nixon administration had been successful?

3. President Nixon had told the American people early in the investigation that some of his people had masterminded the break-in and that they had been fired and would be punished?

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POVERTY

Supporting Generalizations with Facts

The following statements are generalizations based on the information found in "Poverty" in *Current Issues.* If you agree with the generalization, list facts supporting it. If you disagree with the generalization, list facts refuting it.

1. Low-income Americans cannot get along without the federal guarantee of financial assistance.

2. Giving tax credits to the working poor will keep them off welfare.

3. Government welfare perpetuates poverty instead of combating it.

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WOMEN AND MINORITIES

Discrimination Cases

Read each of the following fictional cases. Place a C in the blank if you think the ruling was correct and a W if you think it was wrong. Be ready to explain why you believe as you do.

____ 1. When an opening developed in a large corporation for a high-paying job, a less qualified white female employee got the promotion over a more qualified Hispanic man. In getting the promotion, the woman became the highest-ranking woman in the company. The Hispanic man sued the company, demanding that he be given the job because he was more qualified. The white female employee countered by saying that if demoted she would have to go back to a job that paid considerably less.

The court ruled in favor of the Hispanic man.

____ 2. An African-American man was unable to get a promotion because he did not have the training necessary for the higher-level job. The reason for his lack of training was that his company discriminated against African Americans in its training programs years ago. He sued, demanding a promotion along with the special training needed for him to succeed in the higher-level job.

The court said he did not deserve the job because the company's job training program no longer discriminates. But the court also ruled that the company now had to train him and promote him the next time an appropriate job came along.

____ 3. A woman employed in manufacturing was unable to get a promotion in Company A because she lacked the training necessary for a higher-level job. However, she lacked training because she had been discriminated against by her previous employer—Company B. She sued Company B, demanding monetary compensation.

The court ruled against Company B and gave the woman the money.

____ 4. An African-American man working in industry was unable to get a promotion because his poor education made him less qualified than a white male applicant. His poor education was the result of attending inferior, segregated schools in the South in the 1950s. He went to court, claiming that federal affirmative action guidelines entitled him to the promotion. His company argued that even though they would like to promote him, he simply was not qualified to do the job.

The court, citing federal guidelines, forced the company to give the man the promotion and the training necessary to qualify him for the job.

____ 5. A Mexican-American woman, who recently became a citizen of the United States, was denied a promotion because her poor education made her less qualified than a white female applicant. Her poor education was the result of growing up in a nonsupportive environment in Mexico where her family was poor, her father abandoned the family at an early age, and she was never encouraged to excel in school. She went to court seeking the promotion under federal affirmative action guidelines, but her company argued that although they like to promote minorities, this woman simply did not have the skills to do the job.

The court agreed with the company, saying that the wrongs done to her did not take place in the United States, but rather in Mexico when she was a child. The court also said that, now that she is a citizen of the United States, she has an excellent opportunity to improve her skills and make herself more employable.

____ 6. An African-American woman's application to a highly competitive medical school was rejected because other applicants had higher scores on their entrance exams. Her father—a doctor—sent her to private schools and the state university. She did well in college, but could not quite score high enough to gain entry into the medical school she desired. She sued for entry under affirmative action guidelines.

The school admitted her over several higher-scoring white males.

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STUDENT HANDOUT 13

DEFENSE

Defense Survey

Directions: For each item below, indicate with a check whether you agree or disagree. Be prepared to explain your position.

	Agree	Disagree
1. The best way to protect national security is to make the United States the strongest military power in the world.		
2. Because the economic well-being of the nation depends on securing adequate quantities of oil, the United States should do whatever is necessary to safeguard its sources.		
3. The United States should become part of a UN peacekeeping mission if such a force is necessary to maintain peace in a far-off country.		
4. The greatest threat to national security today is not military warfare, but economic warfare.		
5. It is in the best interests of the United States to encourage the fledgling democratic movements around the world by providing generous economic and technical assistance.		
6. Environmental disasters like oil spills, the greenhouse effect, and the destruction of the rainforest, while tragic and regrettable, have very little effect on the national security of the United States.		
7. Reducing the defense budget below its present level would seriously jeopardize American security.		
8. The United States should invest more money in high-tech versions of traditional weapons.		

DEMOCRACY AND HUMAN RIGHTS

United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights

This universal declaration of human rights as common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations, to the end that every individual and every organ of society, keeping this declaration constantly in mind, shall strive by teaching and education to promote respect for these rights and freedoms and by progressive measures, national and international, to secure their universal and effective recognition and observance, both among the peoples of member states themselves and among the peoples of territories under their jurisdiction.

Article 1. All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act toward one another in a spirit of brotherhood.

Article 2. Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, color, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth, or other status. Furthermore, no distinction shall be made on the basis of the political, jurisdictional, or international status of the country or territory to which a person belongs, whether it be independent, trust, non-self-governing, or under any other limitation of sovereignty.

Article 3. Everyone has the right to life, liberty, and security of person.

Article 4. No one shall be held in slavery or servitude; slavery and slave trade shall be prohibited in all their forms.

Article 5. No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman, or degrading treatment, or punishment.

Article 6. Everyone has the right to recognition everywhere as a person before the law.

Article 7. All are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to equal protection of the law. All are entitled to equal protection against any discrimination in violation of this Declaration and against any incitement to such discrimination.

Article 8. Everyone has the right to an effective remedy by the competent national tribunals for acts violating the fundamental rights granted him by the constitution or by law.

Article 9. No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest, detention, or exile.

Article 10. Everyone is entitled in full equality to a fair and public hearing by an independent and impartial tribunal, in the determination of his rights and obligations and of any criminal charge against him.

Article 11. (1) Everyone charged with a penal offense has the right to be presumed innocent until proved guilty according to law in a public trial at which he has had all the guarantees necessary for his defense. (2) No one shall be held guilty of any penal offense on account of any act or omission which did not constitute a penal offense, under national or international law, at the time when it was committed. Nor shall a heavier penalty be imposed than the one that was applicable at the time the penal offense was committed.

Article 12. No one shall be subjected to arbitrary interference with his privacy, family, home, or correspondence, nor to attacks upon his honor and reputation. Everyone has the right to the protection of the law against such interference or attacks.

Article 13. (1) Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each state. (2) Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and return to his country.

Article 14. (1) Everyone has the right to seek and to enjoy in other countries asylum from persecution. (2) This right may not be invoked in the case of prosecutions genuinely arising from nonpolitical crimes or from acts contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

Article 15. (1) Everyone has the right to a nationality. (2) No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his nationality nor denied the right to change his nationality.

Article 16. (1) Men and women of full age, without any limitation due to race, nationality, or religion, have the right to marry and to found a family. They are entitled to equal rights as to marriage, during marriage, and at its dissolution. (2) Marriage shall be entered into only with the free and full consent of the intending spouses. (3) The family is the natural and fundamental group of society and is entitled to protection by society and the state.

Article 17. (1) Everyone has the right to own property alone as well as in association with others. (2) No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his property.

Article 18. Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience, and religion; this right includes freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom, either alone or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship, and observance.

Article 19. Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive, and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers.

Article 20. (1) Everyone has the right to freedom of peaceful assembly and association. (2) No one may be compelled to belong to an association.

Article 21. (1) Everyone has the right to take part in the government of his country, directly or through freely chosen representatives. (2) Everyone has the right of equal access to public service in his country. (3) The will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of government; this will shall be expressed in periodic and genuine elections which shall be by universal and equal suffrage and shall be held by secret vote or by equivalent free voting procedures.

Article 22. Everyone, as a member of society, has the right to social security and is entitled to a realization, through national effort and international cooperation and in accordance with the organization and resources of each State, of the economic, social, and cultural rights indispensable for his dignity and the free development of his personality.

Article 23. (1) Everyone has the right to work, to free choice of employment, to just and favorable conditions of work, and to protection against unemployment. (2) Everyone, without any discrimination, has the right to equal pay for equal work. (3) Everyone who works has the right to just and favorable remuneration insuring for himself and his family an existence worth of human dignity, and supplemented, if necessary, by other means of social protection. (4) Everyone has the right to form and to join trade unions for the protection of his interests.

Article 24. Everyone has the right to rest and leisure, including reasonable limitation of working hours and periodic holidays with pay.

Article 25. (1) Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing, and medical care and necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age, or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control. (2) Motherhood and childhood are entitled to special care and assistance. All children, whether born in or out of wedlock, shall enjoy the same social protection.

Article 26. (1) Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory. Technical and professional education shall be made generally available and higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit. (2) Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance, and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace. (3) Parents have a prior right to choose the kind of education that shall be given to their children.

Article 27. (1) Everyone has the right to freely participate in the cultural life of the community, to enjoy the arts, and to share in scientific advancement and its benefits. (2) Everyone has the right to the protection of the moral and material interests resulting from any scientific, literary, or artistic production of which he is the author.

Article 28. Everyone is entitled to a social and international order in which the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration can be fully realized.

Article 29. (1) Everyone has duties to the community in which alone the free and full development of his personality is possible. (2) In the exercise of his rights and freedoms, everyone shall be subject only to such limitations as are determined by law solely for the purpose of securing due recognition and respect for the rights and freedoms of others and of meeting the just requirements of morality, public order, and the general welfare in a democratic society. (3) These rights and freedoms may in no case be exercised contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

Article 30. Nothing in this Declaration may be interpreted as implying for any State, group, or person any right to engage in any activity or to perform any act aimed at the destruction of any of the rights and freedoms set forth herein.

After reading the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, answer the following questions.

1. The Declaration identifies three kinds of rights: (1) economic—rights dealing with survival and security; (2) cultural—rights dealing with dignity and self-respect; and (3) political—rights dealing with participation in the political process and control over one's own life. Below, list three rights in each category that you consider most important.

Economic	Cultural	Political
a.	a.	a.
b.	b.	b.
c.	c.	c.

2. What are the similarities between the U.S. Bill of Rights and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights? What are some differences between the two documents?

3. If the members of the United Nations knew the rights they listed in the Declaration were more idealistic than realistic, why do you think they bothered to write them down? Are such rights attainable? Why or why not?

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THE GLOBAL ENVIRONMENT

Costs and Benefits of Protecting the World's Environment

Action: Officials from many of the world's leading industrial nations, including the United States, announce plans to allow construction of hundreds of new nuclear power plants.

Sides: Advocates of nuclear power plants vs. Advocates of coal-fired power plants

	Costs	**Benefits**
Nuclear power plants		
Coal-fired power plants		

Action: The U.S. Senate ratifies the Kyoto Protocol.

Sides: Industry executives from the United States vs. Industry executives from a developing country

	Costs	**Benefits**
United States		
The developing nation		

Action: U.S. and state government officials begin charging farmers the same price for irrigation water as all other water users are charged.

Sides: Farmers using irrigation water from the Colorado River vs. Residents of cities along the lower Colorado

	Costs	**Benefits**
Farmers who irrigate		
City residents		

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INTERNATIONAL TRADE

Fact-Finding Sheet

You have been asked to develop and defend a comprehensive plan for reducing the trade deficit. To do this, you must evaluate the strengths and weaknesses of one of the approaches being considered by the president. Consider the steps necessary to implement your approach and what factors might make it difficult to make the approach work. This fact-finding sheet will assist you with your evaluation. Answer each of the following questions.

Approach: ______________________________________

1. What are the strengths of this approach?

2. What are its weaknesses?

3. How likely is this approach to be adopted?

4. What factors might block it from being adopted?

5. What would have to occur for this approach to be accepted?

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WORLD POVERTY AND FOREIGN AID

Cost/Benefit Chart

Complete the cost/benefit chart for each issue.

1. The United States should eliminate foreign aid.

	Costs	Benefits
United States		
Less developed countries		

2. The United States should abolish the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) and privatize foreign aid.

	Costs	Benefits
United States		
Less developed countries		

3. The United States should promote family planning in less developed countries to slow population growth.

	Costs	Benefits
United States		
Less developed countries		

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EUROPE AND RUSSIA

U.S. Response

Read the following scenarios and the possible U.S. responses if such events occurred. Then choose the response with which you most agree and write a brief statement explaining your position.

Peace in the Former Yugoslavia

Scenario: Heavy fighting breaks out again between Bosnian Serb and Bosnian Muslim armies. In an attempt to keep the two sides separated, U.S. and other NATO peacekeeping troops come under heavy fire from both forces.

Response: The United States could:

1. Enlist more NATO aid and send its troops into combat to attempt to force the two sides to surrender and give up their arms.

2. Remain passive but give sophisticated arms to the weaker Bosnian Muslim army to even up the sides.

3. Withdraw from Bosnia and allow the two sides to fight it out.

4. Call leaders from both sides together and attempt to negotiate another cease-fire and peace agreement.

NATO Expansion and U.S.-Russian Relations

Scenario: As Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic prepare to join NATO, Russian president Boris Yeltsin deploys thousands of Russian troops near his borders with Poland and Hungary and calls President Clinton, warning him that he will send his soldiers across those borders if any of the three are allowed to become members of NATO.

Response: The United States could:

1. Postpone the addition of the three eastern European nations to NATO and attempt to negotiate further with Yeltsin.

2. Offer Yeltsin and Russia membership in NATO, also.

3. Let expansion take place and call Yeltsin's bluff, warning him that his actions could be seen as an act of war.

4. Give up on the idea of expanding NATO.

Economic Aid to Eastern Europe

Scenario: Economic progress in the former communist countries of eastern Europe comes to a halt; unemployment shoots up, inflation is out of hand, and hundreds of factories and businesses close. Communist parties gain strength as they recruit disgruntled workers with promises of a return to the socialist safety net of the old days. Desperate government leaders appeal to the United States for economic aid to ward off economic depression and a return to power by the communists.

Response: The United States could:

1. Give millions of dollars in emergency aid in the hope of jump-starting these faltering economies.

2. Promise no government aid, but urge U.S. and other foreign industries to pump money and technology into these countries as soon as possible.

3. Ignore the plea for aid, voice support of the elected governments in those countries, and let whatever happens happen.

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LATIN AMERICA

A Plea for More Understanding

Sometimes I try to imagine what my life would be like if my parents hadn't moved to America. I have a cousin in Mexico, and he had to quit school to go to work and help his family. He takes care of livestock and works as a laborer, while I play football and finish high school. I would be working, too, if we had stayed in Mexico.

I feel the difference between Mexico and the United States from the moment I land at the airport in Guadalajara, when we visit our relatives. Everything is a lot cleaner in the U.S., even the airports, and the contrast of the poverty in Mexico hits you right away.

But there is a lot more to Mexico than poverty. Americans have a stereotype that Mexicans are lazy lowriders who drive around in cars with dice hanging from the rearview mirror. I've also heard people say that Mexicans are thieves. Sometimes at school, my friends will say, if something's lost or missing, "Well, Minio probably stole it." Though I know they are only kidding, it bothers me.

"Just Another Mexican"

I've seen cartoons where Mexicans are portrayed as drunk and snoring under a cactus. These stereotypes can cause real trouble. My father is a diabetic who has to take medicine constantly. If he doesn't, then he gets lightheaded. Once, my father fell down the steps at the post office and someone called the police because they thought he was drunk. He was trying to explain about his diabetes, but his English isn't very good, and the police brought him home and wouldn't listen to him. I guess they thought he was "just another drunk Mexican."

Americans often don't know the best things about our culture. In Mexico, the families are a lot closer than here. In many families, the grandparents still live at home and help take care of the grandchildren while the parents work.

In the small villages, like the one where my mother was born, many people have adobe houses, which they build themselves. They bring in truckfuls of dirt and mix it with water to make the adobe bricks, and let them dry in the sun. Then they put their houses together brick by brick. Does that sound like a lazy people?

Mexicans are also very religious. I was baptized, took first communion, and got all the sacraments. In Mexico, even the smallest towns have a church.

Living here, it is hard to keep the Mexican traditions, but we try. There are times when I feel really American, as if I didn't have any Mexican roots at all. That's usually when I'm around my friends.

Feeling Mexican

Other times, I feel really Mexican, like when I go to charreadas (that's a rodeo with mariachi music and dancing, and Mexican food) and everyone only speaks Spanish. I feel I really fit in there.

In Mexico, they think everyone over here is rich, because in comparison most Americans are better off. When I visit my relatives in Mexico, I buy my cousins Cokes and bring them clothes, because they don't have much.

I live in America and I'm happy here, but Mexico is in my heart. When I'm there, I love the evening ritual of meeting friends in the center of town. About an hour after the sun goes down, everyone gets together in the plaza. The girls walk around the plaza in one direction, and the boys all walk in the opposite direction. We carry tightly rolled up balls of crepe paper called serpentinas, and we throw them around the girls we like, so they get tangled up.

One of the big problems that Mexico has is corruption. My parents and my uncles have told me that, in Mexico, if you commit a murder or some big crime, you can get out of it by bribing the higher officials.

Americans need to understand the good things about Mexico. And they need to understand why so many Mexicans come here looking for work, to escape the poverty and the corruption. When my uncles, who work here illegally, were picked up by the border patrol and sent back, one of the immigration agents was nice to them. He knew they would come back as soon as they could. "Oh well," he said to them, "if it weren't for you, I wouldn't have a job."

"A Plea for More Understanding" by Minio Plata with Naomi Marcus. Appeared in *Update*, November 1988. Reprinted by permission of Scholastic, Inc.

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THE MIDDLE EAST

Middle East Peace Proposals

Nation or interest group you represent: ______________________________

1. What is your primary objective?

2. What would be the ideal resolution of this situation for you?

3. What would be an acceptable compromise for you?

4. What outcomes would you be unwilling to accept?

5. What are you willing to offer to please all of the groups concerned?

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STUDENT HANDOUTS FOR THE BASIC EDITION OF *CURRENT ISSUES*

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THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

Who's Who? After reading "The Clinton Administration" and "Congress," draw a line from each official in Column A to that person's description in Column B.

Column A	Column B
Donna Shalala	• state attorney for Dade County before becoming attorney general
Rodney Slater	• vice president of the United States
Madeleine Albright	• chancellor of the University of Wisconsin before becoming secretary of health and human services
Al Gore	• head of the State Department; former U.S. ambassador to the United Nations
Janet Reno	• secretary of transportation
Newt Gingrich	• speaker of the House

Pass or Fail. First read the "Congress" chapter in *Current Issues.* Then, by placing a P for pass or an F for fail in the blank, tell if each of the issues listed below was passed by the 105th Congress or failed to pass.

____ 1. balanced budget

____ 2. tax cuts

____ 3. term limits for members of the U.S. Congress

____ 4. campaign finance reform

____ 5. education reform

Understanding the Supreme Court. After reading "The Supreme Court," write T for true and F for false next to each statement. If the answer is false, change the statement to make it true.

____ 1. Supreme Court justices are appointed for ten years.

____ 2. The judge who leads the Supreme Court is called the chief justice.

____ 3. Supreme Court decisions can be appealed.

____ 4. Conservative justices always interpret a case conservatively; liberal justices always interpret a case liberally.

____ 5. The two newest Supreme Court justices are Ruth Bader Ginsburg and Clarence Thomas.

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Learning New Information

STUDENT HANDOUT 22

THE FEDERAL BUDGET

What Would You Do? Look at the section titled "Reforming Social Security" on page 47 of *Current Issues.* Upon reading it, you will learn that government officials worry that unless Social Security is reformed, it will not be able to keep paying benefits for all the retired Americans. On the back of this handout, list three ways you think the government could change Social Security so retired and disabled people can continue getting their payments. Add one or two sentences explaining why you think each idea will work.

Who Does What? In Column A are three main players in the budget process. In Column B are several things that those players do. Draw a line from one or more of the players in Column A to something they might do in Column B. Remember one player may do more than one thing.

Column A

the president

Congress

the people

Column B

- has the power to appropriate federal money
- relies on the Office of Management and Budget to develop a budget
- has the power to collect tax money
- pays money to the government and gets money back from the government
- administers programs funded by the federal government
- tells government officials how federal money should be spent

The Word Is. You can fill in the blanks in the sentences below by paying attention to the words in bold type in your chapter.

1. The money that people pay to the government for services is called ______________________.
2. Congress____________________________ money when it gives that money for a specific use.
3. The federal government draws up a _________________________ each year that lists the amount of money it has to spend on each program.
4. Americans measure their ______________________ by looking at the necessities and comforts they have in their day-to-day lives.
5. An ______________________ is a formal change added to a law or to the U.S. Constitution.

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Learning New Information

STUDENT HANDOUT 23

CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS

Find the Best Word. Search for the word in *Current Issues* printed in bold lettering that best completes each sentence.

1. Taking something by legal means is called ____________________.
2. The money a person must pay to get out of jail before trial is ____________________.
3. Many people, including judges, try to explain or ____________________ the meaning of the Constitution.
4. A developing human from usually three months after conception to birth is called a ____________________.
5. A person younger than 18 years of age is a ____________________.

Constitutional Amendments. As you read, pay careful attention to the constitutional amendments mentioned in the chapter. Then, draw a line from the amendment in Column A to the best description in Column B.

Column A	**Column B**
First Amendment	• says that people accused of crimes do not have to testify against themselves
Fourth Amendment	• says that all races and genders must be treated fairly
Fifth Amendment	• gives freedoms of religion, speech, press, and assembly
Sixth Amendment	• protects people from unreasonable searches and seizures
Eighth Amendment	• prevents excessive bail and cruel and unusual punishment
Fourteenth Amendment	• promises a person a speedy trial with a jury

Legalized Abortion: Yes or No? Read "Abortion" and "The Debate" sections in the "Constitutional Rights" chapter.

1. In one sentence, tell one reason why some people think abortion should remain legal.

2. In one sentence, tell one reason why some people think abortion should be illegal.

3. On a separate page, write a letter to the editor of your local newspaper stating your opinion about abortion.

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Learning New Information

STUDENT HANDOUT 24

CRIME AND DRUGS

The Best Word Is. As you read the "Crime and Drugs" chapter pay close attention to the words and terms printed in boldface type. Then, use them to complete each sentence below.

1. A family of four who earn less than $16,036 per year are living below the ______________________.
2. A serious crime is a ______________________.
3. Supporters of gun control want owners to ______________ their handguns by placing their names on a list.
4. A gun that fires more quickly that other kinds of guns is a ______________________ gun.
5. The murder, or killing, of another person is called a ______________________.

Learning from Charts. Study the "Juvenile Crime" chart on page 66 and answer the following questions.

1. In what year was crime by juveniles highest in the United States since 1986?
2. In what year was crime by juveniles the lowest since 1986?
3. What has happened to the juvenile crime rate since 1994?

Next, turn to the "Americans in Prison" chart on page 72.

4. How many people were in American prisons in 1997? About how many were in prison ten years before that?
5. What was the last year in which there were fewer than 1 million prisoners in U.S. jails and prisons?

What Do You Think? Some Americans have a bumper sticker on their car that reads, "Guns do not kill people. People kill people." With that slogan in mind, answer the following questions.

1. What do you think this bumper sticker means?

2. Would a member of the National Rifle Association place this bumper sticker on his or her car? Why or why not?

3. Would a supporter of the Brady gun control law place this bumper sticker on his or her car? Why or why not?

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STUDENT HANDOUT 25

THE ECONOMY

What Have I Read? As you read the "Economy" chapter, pay attention to the words in boldface or the headlines. Then draw a line from each word or term in Column A to its definition in Column B.

Column A	Column B
productivity	• amount of income a person receives that does not change
standard of living	• a measure of day-to-day necessities and comforts
recession	• value of goods a person can produce in one hour
federal budget deficit	• occurs when the economy is not growing and unemployment increases
fixed income	• what we get when the federal government spends more money than it takes in

Make a Choice. Think about what you have just read before choosing an answer.

1. Read the section on "Inflation" and choose the best answer.
   When inflation rises:
   a. wages increase
   b. wages decrease
   c. costs increase
2. Read the section on "Recession" and choose the best answer.
   The U.S. government might try to end a recession by:
   a. increasing the federal interest rate to encourage savings
   b. cutting taxes to encourage spending
   c. raising taxes and spending more on social programs

Current Issues for the Economy. Careful reading of the chapter will allow you to write short answers to each of the following questions.

1. What is the "income gap"?

2. Which economic class gets smaller as the income gap gets wider? Why?

3. Give one reason why some people think the government should abandon the current income tax system.

4. Give one reason why some people think the government should not abandon the current income tax system.

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STUDENT HANDOUT 26

EDUCATION

What Is the Meaning of This? Match the words and terms in Column A with the best explanation in Column B by drawing a line between the two items.

Column A

local control

administrators

tax credit

segregation

Great Society

magnet school

busing

Column B

- a plan to attract students by offering special classes
- separating people by race
- communities running schools instead of states or the federal government running schools
- principals and superintendents
- taking children from the neighborhood where they live to a school outside the neighborhood to balance the racial makeup of the school
- money that parents may subtract from their taxes if they have a child in college
- President Johnson's plan to fight poverty

What Have I Read? After you have read the "Education" chapter, in *Current Issues*, complete these sentences.

1. President Clinton's plan to reach national education goals is called ______________________________.
2. A program started by President Johnson for preschool children of low-income families is called ______________________________.
3. Most tax money to support local schools comes from ______________________________ taxes.
4. Students who get loans from the government to go to college have to promise to ____________________ the loans after they graduate.

What Am I Looking At? Write an answer to each of the following questions after you have studied the photographs and chart.

1. Study the "More Education Means More Money" chart on page 97 in *Current Issues*.
   - Which adults will earn the most money in a lifetime?
   - Which adults will earn the least money in a lifetime?
   - In one sentence, tell what message you got from this chart.
2. Study the photograph on page 99 and read the caption.
   - Why do some schools want their students to wear uniforms?
   - Do you like this idea? Why or why not?
   - Could a photographer come to your school and take photos like this with similar captions? Why or why not?

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STUDENT HANDOUT 27

HEALTH CARE AND AGING

Understanding What You Read. As you read the "Health Care and Aging" chapter, pay attention to the word or terms in boldface. Use them to complete the sentences below.

1. People who retire often receive a fixed sum of money called a ________________________.
2. In 1994, members of Congress did not pass President Clinton's health care plan because they thought it would bring higher taxes and more ______________________________, or rules.
3. President Clinton proposed his universal health care plan because many people cannot afford private ________________________, which helps pay for medical bills.
4. Doctors ______________________________ their patients against disease by giving them vaccinations.

Agree or Disagree? Read and think about the following sentence: "The government should give health care coverage to all Americans." Listed below are some statements that either agree or disagree with that sentence. Write A in the blank if the sentence *agrees* with the government giving health care to all Americans. Write D in the blank if the statement *disagrees* with the government giving health care to all Americans.

________ The government cannot afford to give health care to all Americans.

________ The United States is the only industrialized country that does not provide health care for all its citizens.

________ The United States should make smaller reforms to improve access to health care, without guaranteeing coverage for all Americans.

________ Many Americans want health insurance but cannot afford it.

________ Plans that would cover everyone cost too much.

________ Citizens need health care.

What Is Your Opinion? After reading the "Health Care and Aging" chapter, answer the following questions.

1. Write one reason why some people think the government should ask older Americans to pay more for Medicare.

2. Write one reason why some people think that the government should not ask older Americans to pay more for Medicare.

3. In one sentence tell what you think about asking older Americans to pay more for Medicare.

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STUDENT HANDOUT 28

IMMIGRATION

What Is That Word? As you read the "Immigration" chapter, pay close attention to the words in boldface type. Then, write down the word or term that is best defined below.

1. ____________ A person from another country
2. ____________ An opinion, usually negative, that is not based on fact
3. ____________ A person who judges others because of their race
4. ____________ A person who flees his or her home country for safety elsewhere
5. ____________ A pardon from the government
6. ____________ To send someone back to his or her home country

Describe the Act. As you read "Immigration," pay careful attention to each immigration act mentioned. Then, draw lines from the acts in Column A to their descriptions in Column B.

Column A	**Column B**
Immigration Act of 1965	• limited immigration of what it called people of "less desirable" heritage
McCarran-Walter Act of 1952	• allows the president to admit a certain number of refugees each year
National Origins Act of 1929	• set an overall quota of 170,000 immigrants from the Eastern Hemisphere and 120,000 from the Western Hemisphere
Refugee Act of 1980	• tried to stop the flow of illegal immigrants from Latin America; gave illegal immigrants a chance to become citizens
Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986	• added ideology to nationality as a test for admission to the United States

A Letter to the Senator. First read "English Only?" in *Current Issues.* Then make believe that you are a skilled legal immigrant who cannot speak English. Write a letter on the back of this handout to your senator stating your support for or opposition to the plan to make English the official language of the United States.

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STUDENT HANDOUT 29

THE MEDIA

If I. As you read "The Media," pay careful attention to words and terms printed in boldface type. They will help you complete the following sentences.

1. If I cannot tell the difference between right and wrong, some people might say I am not ______________.
2. At one time in U.S. history, if I printed or publicly said something against the government that a government official did not like, I might be arrested on charges of ____________________.
3. If I hear a short recorded statement made by a political candidate on television, I am listening to a ____________________.
4. If I make or print a statement about another person that is untrue, I might be sued for ______________.

A Picture Tells a Story. Answer each question after you have studied several photos and the cartoon in "The Media."

1. Look at the cartoon on page 139. Which news story is most important: a sex scandal or a nuclear bomb going off? Which of the two stories was probably getting the most attention on television? Why?

2. Look at the photograph on page 136. In a televised debate like this, which seems to be important: how you look or what you say? Explain why you think that is good or bad.

3. Look at the photograph on page 133. Why would some people not like what these reporters are doing? Do you think the American people want to hear what these reporters have found out?

What, Where, How? Write a short answer to each question.

1. What are the "new media"?
2. Where do most Americans get their news?
3. How did the Bush administration limit media access to the Persian Gulf War?

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Learning New Information

STUDENT HANDOUT 30

POVERTY

What Have You Learned? After reading the "Poverty" chapter, draw a line from each word in Column A to its description in Column B.

Column A

Great Depression

poverty

entitlement

guarantee

recession

Column B

- a government program that gives benefits to anyone who meets certain requirements
- a promise to deliver a product or service
- not having enough money for food and shelter
- a time of high unemployment and poverty in the 1930s
- a time when the economy is not doing well

Helping People in Need. Read "The Federal Government Fights Poverty" in the "Poverty" chapter, to find the name of the government program that best completes each sentence.

1. The program that was originally created by President Roosevelt to aid widowed mothers is called _________.
2. As part of President Johnson's Great Society, people with low incomes may receive subsidized medical care, known as _________________.
3. The largest social program, ________________, pays out money to retired people and their dependents.
4. To make sure that people with low incomes get enough to eat, the Department of Agriculture began the federal __________________ program.

Welfare—What Do You Think? Write a complete sentence to answer each of the following questions.

1. What is one idea that government officials had to reform welfare?
2. What is one reason some people opposed welfare reform?
3. Why do you agree or disagree with the part of the new welfare law that says adults will have to find work within two years or lose welfare benefits?

What, Where, How? Write a short answer to each question.

1. What is the earned-income tax credit?
2. What happens to the wages of workers who get the earned-income tax credit?
3. Why are some people opposed to giving an earned-income tax credit to poor people who have jobs?

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STUDENT HANDOUT 31

WOMEN AND MINORITIES

If I. As you read the "Women and Minorities" chapter, pay careful attention to words and terms printed in boldface type. They will help you complete the following sentences.

1. If I am not being given my rights and freedoms as a citizen, I am being denied my ________________ rights.
2. If I form a negative opinion about someone without much information, I am guilty of ________________.
3. If I treat someone unfairly because of his or her gender or race, I am ________________ against that person.
4. If I joined an organized group of workers that was trying to improve working conditions and salaries for members, I would be a member of a ________________.
5. If I am married to someone, that person is my ________________.

A Picture Tells a Story. Answer each question after you have studied the photographs in the "Women and Minorities" chapter.

1. Look at the photo on page 159. Why could this picture not have been taken in 1998?

2. Look at the photo on page 162. What did Martin Luther King, Jr., want to happen after he gave his speech on the steps of the Lincoln Memorial in Washington, D.C.?

3. Look at the photo on page 164. Why was Betty Friedan a leader in trying to get the Equal Rights Amendment added to the Constitution?

What is the Meaning of This? Draw a line from the words or terms in Column A to the best explanation for each in Column B.

Column A	**Column B**
affirmative action	• laws that separated people by race
Plessy v. Ferguson	• said companies and colleges should try to match the racial and gender makeup of America
"Jim Crow" laws	• said that segregation was legal, as long as facilities were equal
Voting Rights Act	• said that rights would not be denied because someone was male or female
Equal Rights Amendment	• prohibits poll taxes and voter intimidation

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Learning New Information

STUDENT HANDOUT 32

DEFENSE

What Happened? After you read each section in the "Defense" chapter, circle the letter of the answer that best fits.

1. Read "Goals of the U.S. Military."
   NATO was formed to oppose:
   - a. the Soviet Union
   - b. Nazi Germany
   - c. the Warsaw Pact countries
   - d. both a and c

2. Read "Using Force."
   The United States fought in Korea and Vietnam to:
   - a. protect oil imports to the United States
   - b. throw out corrupt governments
   - c. contain communism
   - d. add new territory to the United States

3. Read "The Changing Role of the U.S. Military."
   The United States sent soldiers to Haiti to:
   - a. feed starving Haitians
   - b. restore a president who had been elected by the people
   - c. keep Haitians from coming to the United States illegally
   - d. fight communists

4. Read the sidebar titled "The War Powers Act."
   The War Powers Act restricts the power of:
   - a. the president
   - b. the president and Congress
   - c. Congress
   - d. the Constitution

The Word Is. Search for the word printed in bold lettering in the chapter that best fits each of the following descriptions, and write it in the blank.

1. The conflict between the United States and the Soviet Union from just after 1945 to 1991: ________________

2. Government decisions about how the United States will act toward other countries: ______________________

3. The overthrow of an existing government by a small group of people: ________________________________

Learning from a Chart. Study the chart "U.S. Defense Spending" on page 185 and answer the following.

1. In what year did the United States spend the most money for defense?

2. Since that year, in what year has the United States spent the least money for defense?

3. In one sentence, write what you have learned from this chart.

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STUDENT HANDOUT 33

DEMOCRACY AND HUMAN RIGHTS

Who's Free and Who's Not Free? By using the "Map of Freedom" on page 196, list five countries in the world that are free, five that are partly free, and five that are not free.

	Free	Partly Free	Not Free
1.			
2.			
3.			
4.			
5.			

A Letter to a Dictator. Read "Democracy and U.S. National Interests" on page 195 of *Current Issues.* Then, using the information from that reading and your own thoughts, write a one-page letter to an undemocratic dictator. In your letter you should tell the dictator why you think he is wrong and why his country should be a democracy. The dictator to whom you write can be an actual person or one you make up. Use the back of this handout for your letter.

Fill in the Blanks. After you have read the "Democracy and Human Rights," chapter, go back and review the words printed in bold type. After you know the meanings of all these words, complete each of the following sentences.

1. Human beings should be treated with honor and respect because they are born with ____________________ and rights.

2. The body of elected officials who make laws in a democracy is called a ______________________________.

3. If I use action to support a cause, I am an ____________________________.

4. If someone treats me unfairly because of my race, gender, or religion, I am a victim of _________________.

5. A war criminal may be tried before a ________________________________, or a court of law.

6. Not all democracies give their people the same amount of ______________________________, or freedom.

Learning New Information

STUDENT HANDOUT 34

THE GLOBAL ENVIRONMENT

What's the Word? As you read the chapter on "The Global Environment," pay close attention to the words or terms in boldface. Use them to complete the following sentences.

1. When a plant or animal species dies out, it has become ____________________.
2. The air around the earth is the ____________________.
3. A nation that lacks industry and natural resources is a ____________________ nation.
4. Government laws try to limit the ____________________, or greenhouse gases that factories and cars release into the air.

What Have I Read? After reading the "Dangers to the Environment" section, draw a line from each danger in Column A to its description in Column B.

Column A	**Column B**
global warming	• caused by air pollution, this rain contains a high level of acid
ozone layer	• a situation where the environment of a place is strained because too many people live there
acid rain	• a thin layer of the atmosphere that blocks ultraviolet rays
nuclear waste	• radioactive materials made by nuclear reactions
overpopulation	• a rise in the temperature of the atmosphere

What Happens When? Decide what happens when the event in Column A takes place. Then, draw a line to that result in Column B.

Column A	**Column B**
When acid rain falls,	• polar caps may melt and the weather may change.
When ozone is lost,	• plants and animals find it hard to live in the soil, streams, and lakes.
When people produce too much nuclear waste,	• they will have to find a safe way to store it for hundreds of years.
When global warming takes place,	• people may get skin cancer or get sick and crops may be harmed.

Tell Us Your Opinion. After you read the chapter, answer the questions below.

1. What is one reason why protecting the environment is a global issue?
2. What is one reason why nuclear power plants may be good for the environment yet many people are opposed to their use?
3. What is one reason why businesses would like the government to relax some environmental laws?

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STUDENT HANDOUT 35

INTERNATIONAL TRADE

Numbers and More Numbers. As you read the "International Trade" chapter, you will see a lot of numbers. Most will be years or dollars. After reading the chapter, draw a line from each "number" in Column A to its description in Column B.

Column A	Column B
1930	• U.S. trade deficit in 1997
1944	• number of countries that took part in the latest GATT talks
123	• one of the first years of the Great Depression
$56 billion	• year when the Bretton Woods system was started
$113.7 billion	• U.S. trade deficit with Japan in 1997
1994	• year when NAFTA went into effect

Read and Think. Each of the following items will make you think. After you have read an assigned section, choose the answer that you think is correct.

1. Read "Protectionism" beginning on page 228.
   - If the U.S. government placed a quota on Japanese cars that were brought into the United States, the price of that car would probably:
     a. go up
     b. stay the same
     c. go down
   - In one sentence, tell why you think your answer is correct.

2. Read "U.S. Trading Relationships" beginning on page 235.
   - Americans who do not like NAFTA believe that the agreement will:
     a. ruin the Mexican economy
     b. create too many low-paying jobs in the United States
     c. cause thousands of U.S. jobs to move to Mexico
   - In one sentence, tell what you think will happen because of NAFTA.

Chart and Cartoon Study. Answer the following questions after you study the "U.S. Trade Deficit" chart on page 232 and the cartoon on page 239.

1. What happened to the U.S. trade deficit between 1987 and 1991?

2. What happened to the U.S. trade deficit between 1991 and 1996?

3. What does the cartoon on page 239 tell you about the U.S. trade relationship with China and human rights?

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WEAPONS PROLIFERATION

What Have I Read? After you have read "Weapons Proliferation" in *Current Issues,* complete each of the following sentences.

1. A rocket that carries nuclear weapons to a target is called a ________________________.
2. An agreement signed by leaders of two or more nations is called a ________________________.
3. Property taken by legal process is said to be ________________________.
4. The act of hiding something and transporting it illegally is called ________________________.
5. A collection of weapons is an ________________________.

What's the Number? Use the chart on page 248 in *Current Issues* to find the number that will answer the following questions.

1. How many nuclear weapons did the United States have in 1990?

   How many nuclear weapons did the United States have in 1997?

2. How many nuclear weapons did the Soviet Union have in 1990?

   How many nuclear weapons did Russia have in 1997?

3. How many nuclear weapons does the United States expect to have in 2003?

   How many nuclear weapons does Russia expect to have in 2003?

What Do You Think? After reading the "Weapons Proliferation" chapter and studying the chart on page 248, state your opinion. In a short paragraph, tell why you think the number of nuclear weapons expected in 2003 is too high, too low, or about right.

Learning from a Cartoon. Study the cartoon on page 250 and answer the following questions.

1. Who is the man in the cartoon?
2. What is the message of this cartoon?
3. What should the United States do about this man?

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WORLD POVERTY AND FOREIGN AID

Fill in the Blanks. As you read the "World Poverty and Foreign Aid" chapters, pay careful attention to the words and terms in boldface type. They will help you fill in the missing word or words in the following sentences.

1. ______________________ is a condition in which people cannot afford to eat well or live comfortably.
2. People who do not get enough to eat or have to eat food that does not keep them healthy and strong are called ___________________________ people.
3. Countries with few industries and natural resources and many people living in poverty are called _________ countries.
4. Potential forms of wealth such as coal, oil, and fertile soil that nations have are called ____________ resources.

Nations in Need. As you are reading the "World Poverty and Foreign Aid" chapter, pay careful attention to the countries that are mentioned in the chapter. There are also countries mentioned in the charts and photograph captions. After reading, draw a line from each of the countries in Column A to the best description in Column B.

Column A	**Column B**
China	• a Middle Eastern country that gets the most U.S. aid
Israel	• an African country to which millions of refugees fled to escape civil war at home
Rwanda	• an Asian country that will not be able to feed its huge population by 2025 unless it grows more grain
Japan	• a poor African country where civil war between two tribes led to a great deal of death and hunger
Zaire	• an Asian country that gave about $9.5 billion in development assistance in 1996

Learning from Charts and Pictures. If you study the photographs and charts in the "World Poverty and Foreign Aid" chapter, you will be able to answer these questions.

1. Look at the picture on page 257 and read the caption. Then, in one or two sentences tell what you think would be the best way to make sure people do not have to live in places like that.
2. Study the chart on page 261 called "Recipients of U.S. Aid." Then, by using a globe or a world atlas, answer these questions.
   - Which of these ten countries are in the Middle East?
   - Which of these countries are in South America?
   - Which of these countries are in Africa?
3. Look at the photo on page 260. Then, write a short answer to the following question.
   - How could more trade with the United States help China solve food shortages in the future?

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STUDENT HANDOUT 38

EAST ASIA

Fill in the Blanks. As you read "East Asia," pay close attention to the words or terms in boldface. Use these words to best complete each of the following sentences.

1. At the end of World War II, Japan could not make ______________________ as well as other industrialized countries because it had been making military equipment for many years.
2. The Japanese government has limited ____________________, or goods bought from other countries, from competing with Japanese goods.
3. Japan relies on international trade because it is an island with few ________________________, or a supply of materials that grow or occur in a certain place.
4. In 1989, many Chinese students and workers who wanted Deng to change China's political system ______________________, or gathered publicly, and shared views in Tiananmen Square.

What Is Your Opinion? In one complete sentence, answer the questions below about the U.S. relationship with East Asia.

1. What is one reason why the United States should not promote trade with China?
2. What is one reason why some people think the United States should lift economic sanctions against North Korea?
3. What is one reason why some people think the United States should withdraw its troops from Japan?

Study the Map. Use the map on page 269 to answer the following questions.

1. What is the largest country in East Asia? What large country is located to its north?
2. What two East Asian island nations are large U.S. trading partners?
3. Name two communist countries that border on China.
4. If you traveled from Manila to Hanoi, over what sea would you fly?

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STUDENT HANDOUT 39

EUROPE AND RUSSIA

What Have I Learned? Choose a word or phrase from the list below to complete each sentence.

Cold War cabinet currency free trade

1. The euro is a form of ________________________.
2. ________________________ occurs when nations do away with tariffs and quotas.
3. Presidents and world leaders often have a group of advisers and department heads called a _____________.
4. The United States and the Soviet Union went through a period of hostility and tension from the late 1940s to 1991 called the ________________________.

Yes or No? By carefully reading "Europe and Russia," you can answer each of the following questions with a yes or a no.

1. Did European leaders agree to use a single system of money under the Maastricht Treaty?

2. Was NATO founded because of the Cold War?

3. Did Yugoslavia split up partly because of the fall of communism in the Soviet Union and eastern Europe?

Differing Opinions. Read the "Current Issues" and "Debate" sections of the "Europe and Russia" chapter before writing an answer to each of the following questions.

1. Some people think that NATO should add new members from eastern Europe. Why do they think that would be good? Why are some experts worried about what Russia will do if NATO is expanded?

2. Some people think the United States should send aid to the countries of eastern Europe. Why do they want to do that? Why are some Americans opposed to that?

3. Why do some Americans think that the United States should keep peacekeeping troops in Bosnia?

4. Why do some Americans think that peace in the former Yugoslavia is not in the national interest of the United States?

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STUDENT HANDOUT 40

LATIN AMERICA

What Country Is It? Read the Latin America chapter of *Current Issues.* Then, draw a line from each country in Column A to its description in Column B.

Column A	Column B
Mexico	• ended a long civil war between the communist government and U.S.-supported *contras* in 1989
Haiti	• thriving South American democracy that may become the fourth member of NAFTA
Cuba	• former French colony that the United States threatened to invade if the military refused to bring back Aristide as president
Nicaragua	• U.S. neighbor that is a part of NAFTA; leader in social and economic change in Latin America
Chile	• ninety miles away from Florida, this country was the Soviet Union's ally for more than thirty years

Famous People. Using the "Latin America" chapter as a guide, complete the following sentences with the names of Latin American leaders.

1. The president of Mexico, ____________________, is focusing on economic growth, just like the president before him, Carlos Salinas.
2. This former mayor of Managua, Nicaragua, ____________________, defeated Daniel Ortega for president in 1996.
3. Chilean president ____________________ has helped make his country economically strong and the next likely member of NAFTA.
4. The leader of Cuba, ____________________, signed an agreement with the United States whereby he would stop the illegal immigration of Cubans to the United States if the U.S. government would allow up to 20,000 Cubans to enter the United States legally.

New Words. As you read "Latin America," pay attention to the words in boldface. Use these words to complete the following sentences.

1. The president of Mexico from 1988 to 1993, Carlos Salinas, carried out economic and social ____________.
2. People who illegally buy and sell drugs are called drug ____________________.
3. The United States placed a ____________________ against Nicaragua, which meant the United States stopped trading with Nicaragua.
4. The government of Colombia has trouble with the country's powerful ____________________.
5. In capitalist countries, the people hope to make a financial gain, or a ____________________.

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STUDENT HANDOUT 41

THE MIDDLE EAST

Following the Timeline. After you have read and studied "Timeline of Arab-Israeli Events" on pages 324 to 328 in *Current Issues,* answer the following questions.

1. What two religious groups live in Palestine around the city of Jerusalem?
2. In what year did these two religious groups first go to war?
3. What event led to that war?
4. Which Arab country was the first to make peace with Israel?
5. Why is the year 1993 important to peace in the Middle East?

What Have I Read? After you have read "The Middle East" in *Current Issues,* complete each of the following sentences.

1. The murder of millions of European Jews by German Nazis is called the ____________________________.
2. A small Middle Eastern country that has large numbers of both Christians and Muslims is ________________.
3. People who believe in strict observance of their religious beliefs are called ____________________________.
4. Israel took the Gaza Strip, the Golan Heights, the West Bank, and the Sinai Peninsula in the ___________War.
5. The leader of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) is ____________________.

Study the Map. Use the maps on pages 321 and 329 of *Current Issues* to decide whether the following sentences are true or false.

____ 1. Israel has four Arab countries and the Mediterranean Sea on its borders.

____ 2. The Dead Sea borders on one side of the Gaza Strip.

____ 3. Amman, Jordan, is less than 100 miles from Jerusalem.

Study the Cartoon. Study the cartoon on page 335 in "The Middle East." Then write a short paragraph telling what message you think the cartoonist is trying to tell.

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